THE JERUSALEM DAWN

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THE ONLY ENGLISH LANGUAGE NEWSPAPER PUBLISHED IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

You cannot deprive me of the rights and privileges you have, and expect to keep them forever.

Two homes were demolished this week in al-Breij refugee camp, Gaza Strip/IHW

35 NEW SETTLEMENTS ANNOUNCED

ISRAEL WANTS TO DOUBLE W.B. SETTLERS

The Israeli government approved the establishment of 35 new settlements in the West Bank in addition to settlement plans announced earlier. Israeli daily *Ha'aretz* quoted a secret government document December 8, which said that the new, small settlement towns in the West Bank will contain 22,500 housing units to accommodate 70,000 new settlers.

The paper added that the cost of the new settlements is estimated at IS 20 billion. Construction will be carried out under the supervision of special committees belonging to the Herut Movement, the National Religious Party, Agudat Yisrael, and private Israeli companies.

Twenty-two out of the 35 planned settlements will be built in the northern part of the West Bank, and the remaining 13 settlements will be constructed in the southern sector.

A spokesman for the World Zionist Organization settlement department said that Israel will double the number of settlers in existing settlements in the occupied territories within the next three months. He also informed a Reuters' correspondent that work on establishing an additional 6,000 housing units is near completion.

The Israeli spokesman also said that work is underway to erect buildings to absorb 100,000 settlers over one year.

There are now 110 settlements housing between 20,000 and 25,000 settlers in the occupied territories.

Former Israeli energy minister Yitzhak Berman objected to the Israeli government plans to set up new settlements and said that new settlers should be housed in existing West Bank settlements. (Translated from Al Fajr, December 9, 1982)

AT TOP LEVEL MEETINGS IN ADEN:

PLO GROUPS SEAL PACT TO CONFRONT US-ISRAEL DESIGNS

Three days of top level Palestinian command consultations headed by PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat, ended, December 5, in Aden, capital of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (PDRY). The wide-ranging talks covered several issues relating to the Palestinian issue and ended with an impressive display of unity.

A final communique issued December 6, emphasized the importance of "a united Palestinian front to face the upcoming stage of the Palestinian legitimate and just struggle."

During an official visit paid by a Palestinian delegation to the PDRY, the PLO executive committee and the general secretaries of the Palestinian resistance factions started, December 3, prolonged and thorough talks. The three-days of meetings were chaired by PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat.

The meeting opened with the Palestinian commanders analyzing the present political and military situation. Several proposals were made for "confronting the major challenges the Palestinian people and revolution are facing" at a time when the US is, "throwing all its force into the battle supporting Israel and supplying it with every possible means of killing and destruction against the Palestinian people."

Relations among the Palestinian factions were given "top priority" at the meeting. Participants agreed that "such relations and the unanimity of the Palestinian stand come first." They also evaluated the Palestinian role in the Arab seven-member committee that has just concluded talks with most permanent members of the UN Security Council. Britain refused to meet the delegation because of the inclusion of a PLO representative. In addition, the Palestinian command set the policy for Palestinian - Arab relations, and agreed on a programme of consolidating and strengthening Palestinian relations with non-aligned, Islamic and socialist countries. They also called for increased work within the framework of the United Nations.

The final communique issued stated that "the imperialist and Zionist forces are strengthening their pressure to liquidate the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and give a final blow to the PLO." It added that "the proposals and initiatives submitted by the US and the Zionist entity fall within this context and towards this aim."

The PLO reaffirmed that "all American and Zionist initiatives including the Camp David plot are merely attempts to divide the united stand of our people in order to implement their total control over the Arab world.

"To face and defeat these liquidationist plans, it is of utmost importance to deepen the prevailing unity within the framework of the PLO," the statement concluded.

THIS WEEK AT THE CENSOR

Number of original articles sent to censor	32
Number of articles totally censored out	11
Number of articles mutilated beyond use	2
Number of articles partially censored but used	7
Number of articles passed	12

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LEAGUE DELEGATION ENDS IN PEKING

The seven-member committee of the Arab League visiting the capitals of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council to explain the resolutions of the recent Fez Summit, concluded its mission in Peking, China, December 7.

According to a communique issued after talks in Moscow and Peking, the Committee faced no difficulties in the Soviet Union and China. Officials of both countries showed full understanding and support for the Arab peace plan, the Arab leaders announced.

Chinese leaders told the Arab delegation they fully supported the Arab struggle, and they strongly criticised Israel. Premier Xiao Jiang blamed Israel for the present turbulence in the Middle East. The New China News Agency quoted Xiao as saying: "Only when the aggressive expansion of Israel is contained and the national rights of Palestinian and other Arab people restored can a just and permanent peace be achieved in the Middle East."

While in Moscow, a joint communique was issued at the conclusion of the Arab delegation's visit, pointing out the readiness of the Soviet Union to "stand by the struggle of the Arab peoples to achieve peace and independence." The communique also pointed to the comfort felt by the two sides at the congruence between late-President Leonid Brezhnev's peace proposals and the Fez Arab summit plan.

The Arab delegation and Soviet officials discussed the possibility of holding an international conference for dealing with the Middle East crisis, with the participation of all sides involved including the PLO.

The joint communique added that the Soviet side noted that the proposals presented lately by the US on the Middle East aim at "causing a split among the Arab countries and imposing on them solutions preferred for US and Israel, and mainly at undermining any possibility of setting up a Palestinian state."

Summing up negotiations over the past several weeks, Arab League sources condemned the French and the British governments. Britain refused to allow the delegation to visit London as it included a PLO representative. According to reports published in London, Saudi Arabia threatened the British with economic sanctions for refusing the delegation. Both Foreign Secretary Francis Pym and his predecessor Lord Carrington, who recently returned from a business trip to Saudia, reported threats to outlaw all contracts held by British firms in the Kingdom.

Khalid Hassan, PLO representative on the seven-member committee, declared in a press conference in Morocco, November 30, that Europe adopts a dual stand towards the Palestinian problem and that the only thing it is ready to introduce is words. He called Britain's reaction "more of an insult than rejection."

Hassan was frustrated by the French government's position. He said they had "executed a clever manoeuvre." Francois Mitterand received the Arab delegation but then concluded official negotiations only with King Hussein, the head of the delegation. "We cannot understand," he said, "how the French support the establishment of an independent Palestinian state, while the French Socialist Party to which Mitterrand belongs, opposes the acceptance of the PLO as a member in the Socialis. International and refuses to freeze the membership of the Israeli Labour Party in the organisation for its support of the invasion of Lebanon."

No Joint Jordan-Palestinian Negotiating Committee, Says PLO

Yasir Abed Rabbo, head of the PLO information department denied, December 5, claims in the Amman-based newspaper *Jordan Times* that a new Jordanian-Palestinian committee was formed to participate in any future peace negotiations. He stated that only the PLO represents the Palestinian people.

Abed Rabbo said that the newspaper's claim published December 4, is totally fabricated and that, through all the previous talks already conducted, the PLO had rejected any proposal which would compromise it as the representative of the Palestinian people.

LNM Leads Strike For Jumblatt

West Beirut closed shops in a general strike December 2 to protest the assassination attempt the previous day against Walid Jumblatt, head of the Druse-dominated Socialist Progressive Party. The strike was called by the Lebanese National Movement which Jumblatt also chairs. At the same time heavy fighting broke out once again between Phalangist and Druse forces in the Aley area, east of Beirut.

According to local reports, all of west Beirut and villages in the Shouf mountains and in areas around Aley closed down all day. The strike included shops, schools, and other public institutions.

The Phalangist-Druse fighting quickly escalated from small arms fire to heavy artillery. It was concentrated in Souq al-Gharb and Aley areas which the Israelis had previously evacuated.

The speculation in political circles is that the assassination attempt was aimed at undermining the latest efforts by Lebanon's President Amin Gemayel, to end hostilities between the Druse and Phalangists in Lebanon. According to a statement released by the presidential palace, the Druse leader and Phalangist party leaders were scheduled to meet on December 2 to arrange peace terms.

The attack on Jumblatt was condemned by most Lebanese leaders, including Amin Gemayel. The French Minister for Foreign Relations, Claude Cheysson, sent Jumblatt a telegramme condemning the attack, and wishing him a speedy recovery.

ANTI-ARAB PLOTS SEEN AS US PRESSURE ON ITALY

by L. R.

ROME – .....

.....

As for other possible plots, two seem to have been initially manipulated to create an anti-Arab climate. In one case, Syrian citizen Henry Arsan, a large-scale drugs and arms merchant residing in Milan, has now been unmasked as a long-time agent of US agencies, such as the Narcotics Bureau, later transformed into the Defence Intelligence Agency. This is probably one of the main reasons why Arsan, who has handled huge arms deals involving the sale to the Middle East of tanks, helicopters and other materials which could not pass unnoticed by the Italian authorities, was permitted to traffic undisturbed for 20 years.

Maybe another reason is that Arsan's arms traffic was also used by Israel. In fact, reports published in Beirut after Arsan's arrest, now under examination by the Italian investigating judge affirm that some of these channels were used by Israel to supply arms to the Iranian army in its war against Iraq.

A second case regards accusations following the arrest of three citizens in Sardinia. The Libyan government was said to be involved in support of a local separatist movement with a view to "destabilize the Mediterranean area." The Libyan embassy in Rome has firmly denied any links to this affairs while political parties in Sardinia have strongly protested against what many Sardinians consider an attempt to "criminalize the independentist idea" which has traditionally strong roots among the local population.

The attempts to create a climate of plots and conspiracy seem to be directly linked to strong US and NATO pressures on Italy to become the mainstay of American military political and economic domination of the Mideast and Gulf areas. The existence of plans to this effect was confirmed at last weeks' NATO ministerial meeting in Brussels. According to US sources, US Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger demanded the "unequivocal support" and logistical and military assistance of European allies for the employment of the US Rapid Deployment Force "to deter threats to the vital interest of the West" in areas outside NATO boundaries that are strictly limited, formally speaking, to Europe and the North Atlantic.

There is still resistance in the European community to such pressures. In Italy where the government has been most obliging to Washington's requests and where the military build-up has recently been completely shifted to the South in accordance with US strategic roles, strong mass opposition to the installation of Cruise missile bases in Sicily and relative developments has built up over the past two years.

Habib, Italian CDP Exclude PLO From All Parties Concerned

by Livia Rokach

FLORENCE – "There is no such thing as a Reagan plan," US Presidential envoy Philip Habib told Italian Christian Democratic Parliamentarians meeting here December 4 to discuss the situation in the Middle East and other international problems.

"The Reagan proposal simply contains indications for the methods to be used to bring the region's adversary parties together and get them to talk to each other."

Habib proceeded to ask that Europe desist from any initiative of its own and limit its efforts to support for a pax Americana in the Middle East, thus paying tribute to the "special responsibilities" assumed by Washington in the area. "However," Habib observed, "even the US has no panacea-prescription for a solution of the conflict. We have never denied," Habib added, "that the Palestinian question is the central issue of the conflict and that it must be solved through negotiations in which the Palestinians will have to participate. But the only way this can be done is by combining the spirit of Camp David with the American initiative. What this means is that the Camp David process should be gradually extended to Jordan who will have to include Palestinians in its representation."

According to Habib, the American initiative "has received the consent of all parties concerned." Significantly, however, the only "concerned party" not to have been invited to attend the seminar was the PLO. Only following a vigorous protest to the Christian Democratic Party by the PLO Rome office was an official allowed to be present – but not to speak – at the last stage of the seminar.

Through the debate, which was concluded by Italian Foreign Minister Columbo, the PLO was not mentioned by either Habib or the Italian participants. The only one who did mention it was Israeli representative Dideron Raphael, former director general of the Foreign Ministry under the Labour government, who called upon the Europeans to "head the fight against the main organisation of international terrorism, the implacable enemy of Israel's existence and the Moscow-controlled saboteur of all peaceful progress."

Israelis Feel Heat In Shouf

Three Israeli soldiers and 11 Phalangists and Druse were killed and 130 Druse and Christians kidnapped during the clashes between the Druse and Phalange in the Shouf area, December 3 and 4, according to Lebanese reports. Official Lebanese sources reported, December 3, that the battles continued without Israeli forces interference. A ceasefire was locally arranged December 4 and came into effect at 6:00 pm.

In Jerusalem an Israeli army spokesman denied that three Israelis were killed, but admitted to one wounded.

Radio Beirut reported, December 4, that the Beirut-Damascus road was reopened that morning, after being closed because of the military barriers in Sufer and Daher al-Wahash.

Military Bans Ten Bethlehem U. Lecturers

Israeli military authorities banned eight foreign lecturers from teaching at Bethlehem University, or any other higher education institution in the occupied territories, December 3. Two more have been informed they will also be banned when their work permits expire in the next few weeks. The five US citizens, four British and one Irish have all refused to sign an anti-PLO loyalty oath now incorporated by the authorities as part of a revised work permit application. The Israeli order came after the West Bank academic institutions unanimously rejected, last week, the modified version of the undertaking as "ambiguous and subject to various interpretations."

Bethlehem University sources said that the Israeli measure will effect nearly half the students at the university. The sources explained that each lecturer teaches four courses, with an average of 20 students in each course. The decision also affects mostly students from the science and English language departments.

University students went on strike on the same day the teachers were banned to protest the Israeli measure.

The Israeli order follows the deportation of 21 lecturers from the three universities, in addition to the attempts to deport the Armenian Archbishop Karekian Katanjian.

The Israeli attempts are in line with the policies of imposing arbitrary restrictions on foreign lecturers in universities in the occupied territories. It also represents a step on the path of more intervention in other internal affairs. (Translated from Al Tali'a, December 9, 1982)

JOINT MEETING AT BETHLEHEM

The student movement in the West Bank universities, and other higher education institutes held a student conference at Bethlehem University December 6. The conference was held under the slogan "salute to the foreign lecturers who refuse to sign the commitment."

The conference opened with a speech from the co-ordinating committee of all education institutions. The speaker said that it is not possible to separate the measures against universities and the political plots against our people. The speaker added that the coordination committee had fought the Israeli measures, especially order 854, and sent letters to international organisations denouncing the undertaking.

A speech on behalf of Bethlehem University student council was also read. It confirmed the students' position of rejecting the Israeli document.

A speech was made on behalf of the Bir Zeit University student council, saying the amendment to the undertaking does not change its essence, and therefore they should continue to reject military order 854, and its amendments.

The conference ended with a speech from Bethlehem University employees also rejecting the undertaking, and calling for a unified front to oppose the amended 854 order against higher education. (Translated from Al Tali'a, December 9, 1982)

SHORT

DRUSE PROTEST FIGHTING

A series of public meetings were held in Druse villages in the Galilee, December 4, to protest the continuing fighting between Phalangists and Druse in the Shouf area of Lebanon. Speakers accused the Israeli army of "siding with the Christians." The meetings, organised by the radical Druse Initiative Committee, are part of a campaign to stop the draft for Druse youths.

On December 5, Nur al-Din Halabi, a Druse religious judge in Haifa, called on the Defence Minister to "stop the fighting between Phalangists and Druse."

SHORT

ANOTHER WORKER DIES

Mahmoud Salim Abd al-Salam Shamaneh, 45, a scaffolder from Qatanneh was killed, December 3, in a work accident in al-Qastal, west of Jerusalem.

Mahmoud was fixing construction planks against a wall in a flat belonging to an Israeli family when he hit a power line.

Mahmoud Shamaneh was the breadwinner for his eight-member family. He was buried in the village cemetery, December 5.

ISRAELI WAR TAX, RAIDS, FEW TOURISTS THREATEN PALESTINIAN BUSINESSES

A growing financial crisis in East Jerusalem became of the fall-off in tourism is being compounded by a continuing campaign of punitive tax-raids by Israeli authorities. The whole town could come to a head over merchants' refusal to pay special war taxes and loans imposed this summer.

In an attempt to head off threats of bankruptcy by many of their members, the Arab Chamber of Commerce in Jerusalem, December 5, wrote to the director of the Israeli tax department urging him to suspend military special assessments who have not paid taxes. Chamber of Commerce sources say there have been several major raids on business premises over the past two months. Fines and punitive taxes of between IS 200,000 and IS 1.5 million have been imposed.

Mahmoud Omar Sahyoun, partner in the Sahyoun and Issaieh wholesale company said his store was raided by four tax-men who impounded all cash and records. In a case typical of many the raiders imposed a high fine, their own assessment of taxes owed and an additional "fee" of three percent for settling out of court. The Sahyoun Company had to pay IS 1.5 million in IS100,000 monthly instalments.

The Chamber of Commerce reported several similar cases in their letter to the authorities.

Politically much more sensitive is action to impose Israeli war taxes on Palestinian businesses. At the start of the war the Knesset passed a law imposing a "Peace for Galilee" tax of two percent on salaries. They also made purchase of special government bonds compulsory for businesses and professional people.

Sahyoun and Issaieh have received credit notes demanding 15 monthly payments of IS13,202 for the war-chest. The bonds are negotiable after 10 years.

Businessmen have taken legal advice and there are reports they are planning a court case. The tax caused a great deal of resentment in Arab circles. Many merchants have refused to pay. There are reports that some are planning to take the issue to the Israeli High Court.

Jihad Abdallah, an employee at the Capital Hotel in Jerusalem said there are two main objections to paying the tax: the hotel cannot afford additional taxes, and second because they could not on principle finance a war against fellow Palestinians.

The Chamber of Commerce argued in its letter that reassessment of policy is needed because of the hardships Palestinian merchants are going through because of the sharp drop in the number of tourists visiting Jerusalem this year, also because of the war.

Tourism industry is considered the most important source of income for different types of businesses. Hotels, craft shops, souvenir stores, and Israeli travel agencies are completely dependent economic from the tourist season.

Many hotels have complained that they did not have any customers during the past three months. Souvenir shop owners made the same complaint.

The Metropole Hotel, on Salah al-Din Street does not have any customers at present. The Capital Hotel, usually full at this time of the year, has only eight rooms booked out of a total of 54. Jihad Abdallah, front desk manager of the hotel, said that it has never been as bad as this year. He added that four employees had to go on leave because of the bad season.

Jeudeh Sawafi, a souvenir shop owner, says that hardly any customers entered his shop during the past two months.

The tourist market is also hitting Israeli industries. On the other side of the Green Line, however, a series of high level meetings between government ministers and tourist industry representatives have proposed a series of measures to aid the ailing industry.

MASSACRE AFTERMATH IN GALILEE

Five young men in Arraba: Ibrahim Nimr Nassar, Bassam Abed Rahmeh, Abdel Muti'in Rahmeh, Ali Nayef Mo'ati, and Bargouna Salim Nassr, were sentenced in Acre magistrates court December 6, to 75 days imprisonment, one year suspended and a IS2000 fine after being found guilty of illegal demonstrations, raising slogans supporting a hostile organisation.

At the same time, another 10 residents in Acre were sentenced to three months suspended imprisonment, and fines of IS5000 for taking part in illegal demonstrations and raising black flags. All these arrestees were accused of participating in the demonstrations that swept the Galilee, September 22, two days after the massacre at Sabra and Shatila. (Translation: Al Ittihad, December 3 & 7)

The Abu Mahmud family stands on the rubble of their demolished home in Faraida, near Bethlehem. The house was destroyed last September after a settler was killed in the area. Residents from the village are presently appealing to the High Court to protest a new settlement that was built on their farm land as revenge for the killing of the settler.JSF

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Drunk With Power

Israeli papers front-paged for readers this week their "hot" news announcing a split in the PLO. The *Jerusalem Post* devoted a special section each day for their analysts to elaborate on the emerging split. Israel Radio took part by digging up and inflating the minutest pronouncement by even unknown Palestinians which can be taken as criticism of the leadership.

Was any Palestinian surprised?

Is this the first time that Israeli journalists join whatever conspiracy is current and employ their full force to the campaign of sabotage?

Our experience tells us the contrary. When the need erupts to strike a blow at any Palestinian nationalist institution, the Israeli media and its conductors lead the choir.

Before the closure of *Al Fajr* newspaper last year Israeli newspapers prominently carried a number of inciting articles preparing the Israeli and sometimes the world public for the coming "happy" event. In the same manner nationalist mayors and municipal councils were attacked on the front pages of the Israeli papers. Nor did Palestinian educational institutions in the occupied territories escape the government-oiled pen of Israeli leader writers.

A chorus of voices inciting against nationalist institutions in the occupied territories generally prefaced official attacks on these bodies. It was not their ability of political analysis that allowed them to predict the next events. It was the "informed" sources who led the way.

If they believe that by writing about "so-called" splits in the Palestinian national leadership these splits will become facts, then they have become drunk on their own power, or misled by the wishful thinking of their sources.

The PLO's position has been built over long and difficult years and rests solidly on the proven unity of the Palestinian people, as all *official* communiques of recent meetings confirm. It will take more than a few hacks at Hebrew typewriters to undermine it.

The Dawn

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Washington Debates PCC

by Ghassan Bishara
Washington DC, Correspondent.
PLO Damacus Communique and US Response

The PLO response to the Reagan plan of September 1, was slow in coming, basically, it is believed, because of the democratic nature of the organisation. Chairman Yasir Arafat cannot alone determine the PLO's response to the proposal, unlike the case in the rest of the Arab Middle East. A meeting of the PLO Central Council had to take place, to debate and react.

On November 26 in Damascus, the Central Council following two days of debate, issued a communique critical of the Reagan plan. "The Reagan project," the communique stated, "does not meet the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people." The PLO Central Council stated that the plan "ignores the rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to the establishment of an independent Palestinian state under PLO leadership." Peace, it was stated once again, can't be achieved without Palestinian rights.

William Quandt of the Brookings Institute, formerly a member of ex-President Jimmy Carter's National Security Council, said that the PLO communique "certainly is critical of the Reagan plan on precisely those dimensions of it that are least satisfactory from the Palestinian point of view." But he said that what is being observed is "a rather complicated diplomatic game" between the US and the PLO. The US, while sticking to its formulations, hopes that "Palestinians and Arabs will come closer to them." The Palestinians, on the other hand, are "constantly reminding Washington that there are some limitations on how far they can go" in agreement with the Reagan plan, and on the important elements that were left out of the plan altogether.

Quandt believes that there has not been a great deal of development in the thinking of either the US or . . . the PLO," regarding their positions. Professor Hisham Sharabi, of Georgetown University put it differently "The way it appears is that the (US) administration and the PLO are engaged in a blinking game – who is going to blink first?" Sharabi then added that the Palestinians have no choice but to stand firm by their position (as) they are now at the irreducible level where their basic inalienable rights are literally at stake. I really cannot see the Palestinian leadership moving any further steps backward."

The US Government response to the Damascus PCC communique came as a surprise to many Middle East observers here. In the past the US didn't miss an opportunity to appear negative toward the PLO. Their non-confrontational reaction of not interpreting the communique as a rejection of Reagan's plan, though "not a breakthrough with PLO relations," as Quandt put it, is still very interesting. Allen Romberg, State Department deputy spokesperson, told *Al Fajr* that having reviewed the Damascus PLO communique, the US doesn't consider it a rejection of the Reagan plan.

Quandt regards PLO response as ambiguous, middle line, and that they "are interested in peace, but it has to be a real peace and has to include self-determination and the right to a state." Quandt then said that it indicates to him a PLO interest in a dialogue with the US, but not one "based on unilateral PLO concessions (without) Israeli concessions."

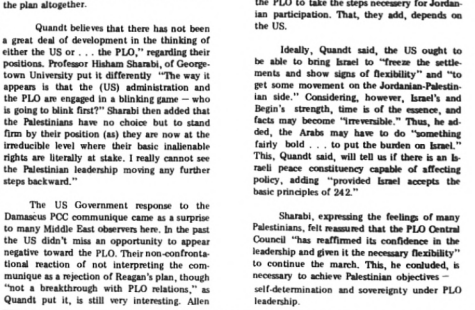
The US response, on the other hand, Quandt said, is that "they are interested in having a certain kind of Palestinian involvement in the peace – making efforts," coupled with some "reluctance to deal directly with the PLO" without "fundamentally changing American policy."

Sharabi said the administration response to the communique continued to be to try not to talk to the PLO "if it can get away with it . . . preferring to talk to other Palestinians." The appearance of being gentle with Palestinians, Quandt said, is geared by the administration, "primarily to encourage Palestinian endorsement of a predominently Jordanian role in the negotiations."

Quandt doesn't believe that the US totally rejects a PLO role in the peace efforts. Sharabi, Quandt and some Israelis such as Israeli graduate student at Washington's American Universtiy, Yehuda Lukasc, see an important role for Jordan. To Lukasc, a peace activist, Jordanian willingness to join the talks will encourage the Peace Camp in Israel to push for Israeli compromises, and the US to push harder on Israel. The Arab side argues that Israel must show some positive signs – first, in order for the PLO to take the steps necessery for Jordanian participation. That, they add, depends on the US.

Ideally, Quandt said, the US ought to be able to bring Israel to "freeze the settlements and show signs of flexibility" and "to get some movement on the Jordanian-Palestinian side." Considering, however, Israel's and Begin's strength, time is of the essence, and facts may become "irreversible." Thus, he added, the Arabs may have to do "something fairly bold . . . to put the burden on Israel." This, Quandt said, will tell us if there is an Israeli peace constituency capable of affecting policy, adding "provided Israel accepts the basic principles of 242."

Sharabi, expressing the feelings of many Palestinians, felt reassured that the PLO Central Council "has reaffirmed its confidence in the leadership and given it the necessary flexibility" to continue the march. This, he concluded, is necessary to achieve Palestinian objectives – self-determination and sovereignty under PLO leadership.



Why I Was Expelled

by Mark Chesnutt

Deported from Middle East International

Academic freedom and indeed the very existence of higher education in the occupied West Bank is severely threatened. Already this year the Israeli military government has deported 21 university lecturers, including the president and vice-president of al-Najah University. At least 36 others have been prohibited from teaching and instructed to leave soon. Many others are under threat. From Bethlehem University alone 67 lecturers — more than half the teaching staff of 120 — are likely to be affected in the end, and very large proportions of the teachers at Bir Zeit and Hebron universities also face expulsion. This would obviously close the universities, destroying what the Vatican has taken years to foster at Bethlehem and others have struggled to build elsewhere in this strife-torn region. On November 5, I became the first non-Palestinian to be forced to leave. My crime? Wanting to teach without political interference.

The military government is attempting to impose political conditions on teachers and students before they are allowed to teach or study in the West Bank. We are being required to sign a political commitment as a condition of receiving our work permits. This is a blatant infringement of academic freedom. I went to the country to help people through education, but I am being prevented from doing so and instead am being forced to involve myself in the region's political turmoil. We have no objection to keeping the laws and security regulations; indeed, we signed a statement agreeing to do so when we applied for our work permits. However, as Brother Thomas Stanley, vice-chancellor of Bethlehem University says: "We do object to an unreasonable declaration that thrusts our teachers into the centre of the political debate which divided the region."

The statement we are required to sign (in Hebrew and Arabic) condemns the Palestine Liberation Organization, saying in part: "I hereby declare that I am committed not to do any kind of work and not give any services which will help or support the so-called PLO organization or any other hostile organization." It specifically, as a lecturer who came to help the people of the West Bank on purely humanitarian grounds, I neither support nor condemn the PLO. However, I cannot accept any political requirement of this kind as a condition for work. British readers might like to consider what they would think of a requirement to sign an undertaking repudiating the Conservative Party as a condition for their own work — given to them by a ruling Labour government . . . As a political condition for education the implications are even more serious.

At present only foreigners and Palestinians with foreign passports are definitely being required to sign, but there is every indication that this is only the beginning. At the start of the term all teachers and students who did not come from Bethlehem were required to sign the commitment. Soldiers surrounded the university with roadblocks to prevent us entering. After the university was kept closed like this for a time the military government suspended law 854 which, amongst other restrictions, required local teachers and students to sign. This, leaving just the foreigners having to sign to obtain their work permits. But law 854 could be implemented at any time.

Who do we have to sign?

I went to the country initially to teach English in a refugee camp in Gaza, and then to teach biology as a laboratory instructor at Bethlehem University. I soon fell in love with the Palestinian people, their openness and friendliness. I want to help them through education. Now I am obliged to ask myself: "Why does the Israeli government want to interfere in higher education by asking us to sign this statement?" I've only been in the country for three months, and have spent most of that time chickened in a laboratory or classroom. Nevertheless some answers push themselves at me:

1. To collect propaganda statistics to prove that the Palestinian people do not support the PLO. Since this can't be done by taking a poll . . . . . .

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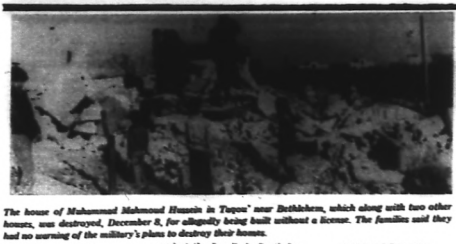


The house of Muhammad Mahmoud Hussein in Tuqoo' near Bethlehem, which along with two other houses, was destroyed, December 8, for allegedly being built without a license. The families said they had no warning of the military's plans to destroy their homes.

December 1, 1982

ISRAELI MILITARY OUTPOST ON BAROUQ MOUNTAIN PEAK

BEIRUT — Lebanese independent daily *Al-Nahar* reported that the Israeli army had set up a military outpost, and a long-range artillery position on top of Barouq Mountain in Lebanon. The paper printed pictures of the Israeli position which include radar equipment and artillery pieces clearly visible on the mountain top.

According to the paper an engineering unit of the Israeli army is planning to widen the road which now connects the Israeli positions at Lake Karoun, south of the Beqa'a Valley, with the mountain top. One of the Israeli preconditions of partial withdrawal from Lebanon, is to keep a military outpost on top of the mountain.

CHE OFFICIAL VISITS TULKARM

TULKARM — A representative of the Council for Higher Education in the occupied territories visited several educational institutions and societies in Tulkarm where he was gathering information on students and teachers problems. The trip was aimed to plan development of the education services, and to study employment opportunities for West Bank graduates.

ALEY UNDER CURFEW

BEIRUT — The Israeli army imposed curfew on Aley, southeast of Beirut, following extensive firearms shooting in the city by Druse residents celebrating the escape of Druse leader Walid Jumblatt from an assassination attempt.

NEW SETTLEMENTS CONFIRMED

TEL AVIV — Michel Dekel, Israel's deputy minister of agriculture, reaffirmed his November 6 plan to establish five new settlements in the West Bank in an address before the economic committee of the Knesset. Four will be established north of Jiftlik and the fifth in the Jenin area. Hundreds of housing units for government employees will be built in these settlements.

LEBANON TALLY

261 military operations have taken place since last July against the Israelis in South Lebanon.

SOLIDARITY WITH REFUGEES

Officials of the UNRWA office in Jerusalem announced they have received 43 memoranda addressed to the UN Secretary General demanding secure permanent housing for Palestinian refugees in Lebanon.

December 2, 1982

MILITARY HOSPITAL IN SOUTH LEBANON

Israel Radio reported that an Israeli military hospital was opened in the eastern part of South Lebanon. The hospital, outfitted with modern equipment, contains a special section for intensive care treatment.

HADDAD MEN REJOIN LEBANESE ARMY

BEIRUT — Responsible Lebanese sources said that nearly half of Sa'ad Haddad's militia men had returned to the ranks of the Lebanese army with the approval of Haddad himself. Haddad and his men broke from the Lebanese army in 1978 and, with Israeli assistance, occupied a strip of land adjacent to the Israeli border.

TWO CHILDREN BURIED

QATTANEH — Funerals for Imad, 10, and Bahjat Issa Abdel Halim, 4, who were killed in a grenade explosion December 1, took place in the village, attended by a large number of village residents. The two children were killed as they were playing with an old bomb in front of their house. Three other children were seriously injured in the explosion. One lost an eye and another had his hand amputated. The three remain in Ramallah Hospital under treatment.

ISRAEL PROPOGANDA IN SOUTH LEBANON

The Israeli army began a distribution campaign of propoganda booklets and maps of Israel to schools in South Lebanon. The booklets, which are printed in Arabic and English, give a history of Israel, a description of life in the kibbutzim and in Nazareth, among other subjects. The propaganda is published by the Israeli Information Centre in Jerusalem.

NEW BOOK ON LAND OWNERSHIP IN THE WEST BANK

JERUSALEM — The Arab Research Centre in Jerusalem published a new book entitled "The Legal Ownership of Land in the Occupied Territories." The book deals with land ownership under Islam, Ottoman, British mandate and Jordanian laws, and the Israeli military orders from 1967 until 1980. The authors are lawyers Ala' Al Bakri and Hasan Rayyan.

December 3, 1982

WOMEN'S ART IN HEBRON

HEBRON — The Women's Work Committee will hold a three-day exhibit for the art works of Faizeh Abdel Hair Qawasmeh at the committee headquarters in Hebron. The exhibition, scheduled to open December 4, will display the work of the Hebronite artist, in addition to cassette tapes and handicrafts.

BATTIR DENIES ISRAEL REPORT

Battir village council denied Israel Radio reports that it received IS650,000 from the Bethlehem area "Village League." The village council head said that the money was given to them by the Israeli military governor of Bethlehem to open a new road to the village school and that nobody had visited the village other than the "civil governor" of Bethlehem. The village council is currently working on a three-kilometer-long road, financed solely by village residents.

LEBANESE NEWS DEMAND BAN ON ISRAELI PAPERS

BEIRUT — *Al-Nahar* Lebanese daily reported that the association of newspaper owners asked the government to stop the distribution of Israeli newspapers in Lebanese cities. Muhammad Ita'allebali, head of the association, said in a letter sent to the information minister that immediate measures must be taken to stop the sale of *The Jerusalem Post* and the government-backed *Al-Anba'a* in Lebanon.

CHARGED WITH MEMBERSHIP

BEIT JALA — An Israeli military court in Ramallah sentenced Nabil Salim Hadhweh, a lawyer from Beit Jala near Bethlehem, to 20 months and Na'im Jabra Sama'an, an engineer and also from Beit Jala, to one-and-a- half years on charges of membership in a PLO organisation while studying in Greece.

TWO HOUSES DEMOLISHED IN GAZA

The Israeli military authorities demolished two houses in Breij refugee camp in Gaza, after the arrest of two people on charges of "security violations." The two youths, whose names were not released, were arrested nearly two months ago. The Abu Jaber and al-Awawdeh families have moved to live with relatives until they find new homes to live in. An official at the UNRWA office (which is responsible for the camps) told *Al Fajr* that the agency does not have any jurisdiction when it comes to Israeli-pronounced security matters.

December 4, 1982

THE MISSING

BEIRUT — Hundreds of Palestinian and Lebanese women whose husbands have disappeared since the Sabra and Shatila massacres in mid-September demonstrated to demand information on the whereabouts of their relatives. Most of the 1300 lost men are believed to have been kidnapped by the Lebanese Army or Phalangist forces.

LAND DEFENCE GROUP

SAWAHRA AL-SHARQIYA — Sawahra villagers formed a committee to defend their land which the authorities claim is state land. The committee includes three lawyers and the owners of the land. The committee will confront the authorities' decision to confiscate 20,000 dunums through the courts and try to mobilise public support.

MORE HOUSE DESTRUCTIONS

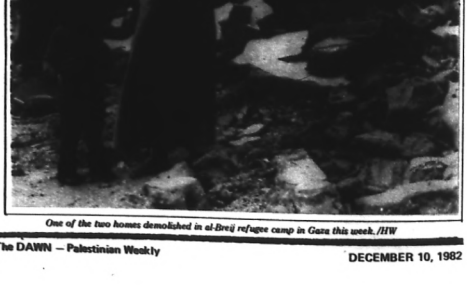
NABLUS — The Israeli army imposed a curfew on Azzawya village while an armed force destroyed the house of Othman Hamdan and closed the house of his brother, Omar Hamdan. The two brothers were arrested and accused of PLO affiliation.

LAND GRAB

TULKARM — Israeli bulldozers are bulldozing 200 dunums of Allar. Authorities informed the local Village Council that the 200 dunums of land will be confiscated. Israeli settlers had established a settlement near Allar. The landowners announced they may appeal to the Israeli High Court.

IS 1 MILLION BLAZE

GAZA — The house of Bashir



One of the two homes demolished in al-Breij refugee camp in Gaza this week. /HW

Ajouz in the Daraj quarter was completely razed in a mystery blaze. Police investigators estimated the damage to the house and its contents at IS1 million.

BANK OF PALESTINE SUES AUTHORITIES

GAZA — The Bank of Palestine is planning to sue the Israeli authorities for refusing to allow it to open branches in the cities of the Gaza Strip and the West Bank. The Bank is also protesting the high taxes that are charged to the bank. No date has been set for another hearing of a case allowing the bank to use foreign currency.

December 5, 1982

ATTACK IN IDNA

IDNA, HEBRON — Unidentified individuals broke grape vines, apple trees and flowers in front of the home of Suleiman Abu Asa'ad in the village of Idna in the Hebron district. The individuals tried to break the solar heating system on the roof of the house but had to flee when the owner of the house heard them. The house owner informed the police of the incident. There have been no arrests.

CIVIL ADMINISTRATION DOESN'T AGREE TO ELECTION RESULTS

The 'civil administration' in Hebron has informed the administration of Noha Charitable Society that it will not accept the results of recent elections for a new administrative committee for the Society. The Society has been asked to conduct new elections excluding the present committee from candidacy.

CURFEW IN BALATA

The Israeli army slapped a one-day curfew on the Palestinian refugee camp of Balata at the entrance of the city of Nablus. The curfew was declared after demonstrations marking the 40th day memorial of a 15 year-old youth who was killed by an Israeli civilian, October 26.

December 6, 1982

ASTONISHED SECURITY

TEL AVIV — Israel Radio reported that Israeli "security circles" expressed astonishment from the statement of Elias Freij, mayor of Bethlehem, asking Premier Begin to intervene personally to solve the issue created by the decision of the Israeli authorities to force foreign lecturers at West Bank universities to sign a commitment not to deal or support the PLO or any other hostile organisation.

PROMISES TO NAFHA

TEL AVIV — Israeli prison authorities announced they would introduce improvements in the way Palestinian inmates at Nafha prison are treated. They include providing beds (they have been sleeping so far on the ground) and equalising their food with that of the Israeli inmates in quality and quantity. Palestinian inmates will also be able to listen to the radio, to read newspapers and to hold collective prayers.

Workers removing soil over an ancient market place of the Mamluk period in the Old City of Jerusalem, where the work has been going on for three weeks. /SG

BOMB

JERUSALEM — Israel Radio said than an explosive device went off in Jerusalem without causing any casualties. The device was placed near a centre for receiving new immigrants at Kiryat Yuveli.

NO UNRWA RATIONS

NABLUS — Mukhtar Ali Barakat of Ain Beit al-Ma' refugee camp in Nablus, who is also a spokesperson for the Refugees' Committee in the West Bank, issued a press release commenting on differences with the director general of UNRWA regarding the need of the refugees for food supplies.

CHURCH PROTESTS

BETHLEHEM — The Catholic Church in Bethlehem denounced the order by the civil administration banning eight lecturers from the university because they refused to sign the declaration prepared by the civil administration — a pledge not to express solidarity with the PLO. The Church demanded the immediate cancellation of the order and called on the authorities not to interfere in the internal affairs of the university.

December 7, 1982

MATI PELED ACCUSED OF HELPING THE PLO

Lawyer Yehudah Bary appealed to the Israeli High Court and the advisor of the Israeli government for legal issues, demanding Mati Peled, a leader of the moderate Sheli party be tried on charges of "helping the PLO." During the Israeli invasion of Lebanon Mati Peled met Issam Sartawi, a political advisor to the PLO, in London. During the meeting Peled is said to have described the Israeli invasion as "immoral and illegal." Bari mentioned that in another meeting, Sartawi and Peled issued a statement demanding the withdrawal of the Israeli army from Lebanon, the mutual recognition between the PLO and Israel, and for Israel's Palestinian captives to be treated as prisoners of war.

The sources reported that after consultations among judges and the advisor of the Israeli government, the appeal was rejected on the basis that Peled did not commit any offence.

THREE WORKERS SERIOUSLY INJURED

Three Palestinian workers were seriously injured when a barrel containing inflamable materials exploded near the Israeli settlement of Yaghour, near Tel Aviv. Israel Radio reported that the ferocity of the explosion threw the Arab wokers dozens of metres.

OPEN YOUTH CLUB

Residents of Balata refugee camp have requested local institutions, societies and municipalities to petition to get the Social Youth Club in the camp re-opened. The club was closed six months ago. The Israeli authorities last month postponed the trial of the administraive council of the club. The council is accused of organising a book exhibit.

ISRAELI SOLDIER KILLED

TEL AVIV — A military spokesman announced that Corporal David Gabai, 19, died as a result of wounds he suffered during clashes in the Shouf mountains December 4.

ISRAELI BANK IN SOUTH LEBANON

BEIRUT — Foreign journalists reported here that an Israeli Bank was opened at Naqoura near the borders with Israel inside Lebanon. Journalists also noted that the number of Lebanese going to Israel for a three-day period has risen to 727. The journalists said that Palestinians are not allowed to cross the borders.

INDUSTRIAL AND SCIENTIFIC CENTRES IN NABLUS

Yuval Neeman, the Israeli minister of science and technology said that Israel intends to build an industrial and scientific research centre in Nablus. Neeman revealed this plan during a talk with the representatives of Israeli settlements in the Nablus area. He added that Nablus is going to be transformed into an Israeli industrial region and centre of scientific research similar to "silicon valley in USA where high-technology factories are concentrated." Neeman added that his ministry will encourage the establishment of advanced Israeli technological factories for research and development in the Nablus region.

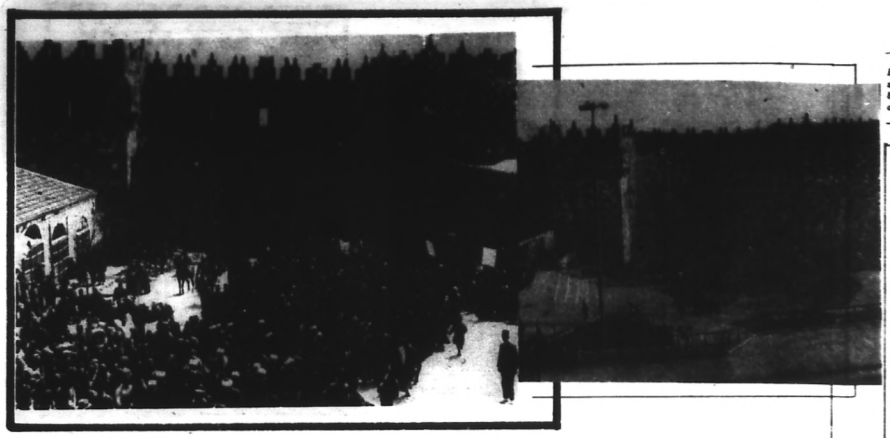
REGISTRATION OF CLUBS

GAZA — The interior department at the military government in Gaza has ordered all clubs and institutions in the Strip to register their premises by the end of this month. No reasons were given for ordering institutions to re-register since they have all been registered already.

NO NEW HOMES

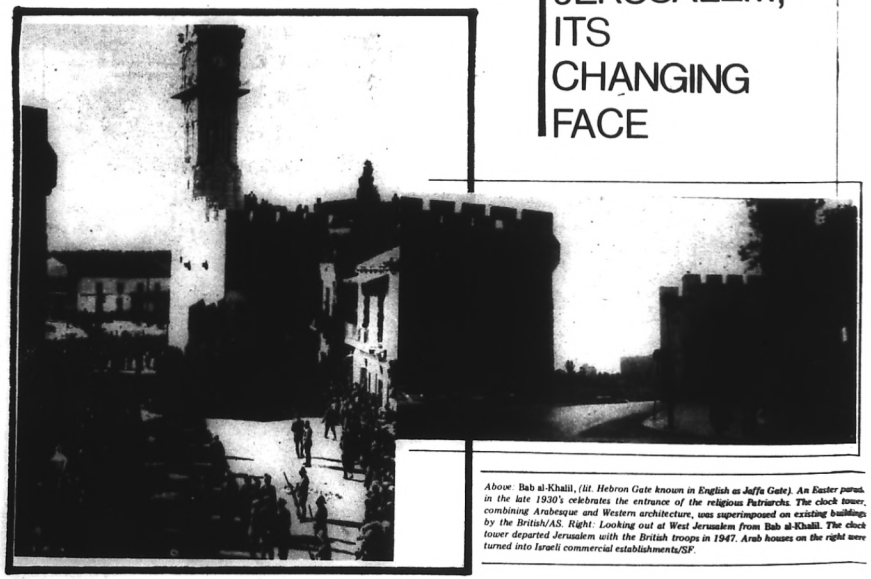
KHAN YUNIS — The Israeli authorities issued a decision restricting all construction work in the town of Khan Yunis in Gaza Strip. The decision was conveyed to the municipal council of the town.

Helping little sister keep warm in al-Am'ari refugee camp, al-Bireh.



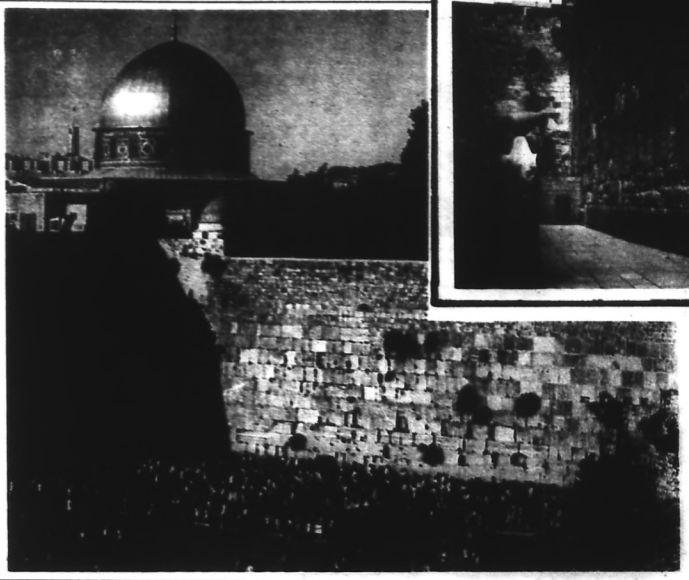
Above: Bab al-Amud, *Damascus Gate. A crowd leaves Friday noon prayer in 1936, the beginning of th. Arab revolt. Men hold placards saying* Falastin *as they exit the Old City, from its central gate Arman Safieh. Right: The same gate today bears little resemblance to its former self. Buildings outside gate were razed by British Mandate authorities to provide a "green belt" around Old City Walls. Bridge built over excavation work after 1948 by Jordan. After 1967, the West Jerusalem municipality remodeled the ancient scene with a modern plaza which Palestinian architects say is "not in the spirit of Jerusalem"/SF.*

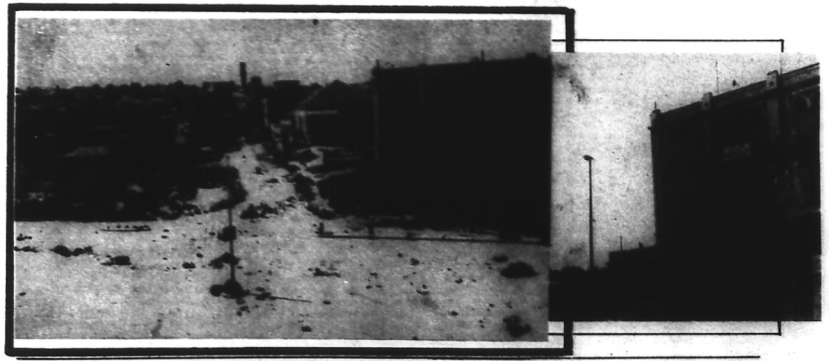
OLD CITY, JERUSALEM; ITS CHANGING FACE



Above: Bab al-Khalil, *(lit. Hebron Gate known in English as Jaffa Gate). An Easter parad. in the late 1930's celebrates the entrance of the religious Patriarchs. The clock tower, combining Arabesque and Western architecture, was superimposed on existing buildings by the British/AS. Right: Looking out at West Jerusalem from* Bab al-Khalil. *The clock tower departed Jerusalem with the British troops in 1947. Arab houses on the right were turned into Israeli commercial establishments/SF.*

Below: Buraq, Western Wall or Wailing Wall. *In this postcard picture made before 1967, Arab houses are situated meters away from the Wall. Below: On day six of the Six Day War, Israeli bulldozers began bulldozing 135 Arab houses to clear a plaza for Jewish pilgrims. The area was excavated and the base line dropped 4-6 meters which a study of the windows will illustrate.*





Above: Museum: *This photograph was snapped from Damascus Gate after clashes during the 1936 Arab revolt against the British Mandate. From 1948 to 1967, the strip to the left of the road was 'no man's land,' demarcating West from East Jerusalem/AS. Right: The Arab houses were bulldozed in 1967 when Israel occupied the rest of Jerusalem. The area, used now as the central Arab taxi station, is planned as the beginning point of a major highway linking West Jerusalem to the suburban settlements/SF.*

by Naboh 'Uweideh

Anti-Zionist Leader Rabbi Hirsch

'ISRAEL A SACRILEGE'

Al Fajr: Who are the Neturei Karta and what is the meaning of the name?

Rabbi Hirsch: Neturei Karta is a name derived from Aramaic and means, "The Guardians of the City" – referring to the Holy City. In reality the Neturei Karta serves as "the Guardians of Faith" shielding the Jewish religion from transformation to Zionism. Zionism has redefined the Jewish people from a religious entity based on God and his teachings, the Torah, to that of a nationalist concept based on land and language. According to Neturei Karta, a Jew is not defined by limited national borders but rather by his faith and the Torah which was given in the desert.

Al Fajr: How many members are in your group and where are they located?

Rabbi Hirsch: We are not a card membership group but rather a group possessing a specific attitude of mind. Teddy Kollek once told *The Los Angeles Times* that we are 1.5 percent of the population in Israel. That means that we number over 60,000. But in reality we are much more than that. Many Jews living here consider Zionism a heresy and the Zionist state a sacrilege. Outside the Holy Land we have over 500,000 members.

Al Fajr: What is your position on immigration to Israel?

Rabbi Hirsch: Our late Chief Rabbi Joel Teitelbaum who headed 250,000 members of one of the splinter groups in the Neturei Karta organization, the Satmar Hasidim, did not (according to *The New York Times*), encourage immigration to Israel. On the contrary he was opposed to it and encouraged Jews to remain in their respective countries.

The Zionist movement has been successful in making it appear as if all Jews are of the same political ideology. Al Fajr interviewed a prominent orthodox Jewish Rabbi in order to clarify the differences between Judaism and Zionism — Rabbi Moshe Hirsch, a leader of the Neturei Karta, anti-Zionist orthodox movement. Rabbi Hirsch is a lecturer of a post graduate Talmudic school and is a member of the seven-person Neturei Karta Supreme Council.

Al Fajr: Do you accept any accommodation with the state of Israel?

Rabbi Hirsch: We are independent of the Zionist establishment. We receive no benefits from any Zionist institution. We have our own independent schools, newspapers, periodicals. The Shaare Zedek Hospital, where our sick are treated, was founded by Dr. Moshe Wallach before the establishment of the state. We have our own independent financial support.

Al Fajr: What is your opinion of the present political situation?

Rabbi Hirsch: In 1934, our chief-Rabbi Yosef Chaim Zonnefeld headed a delegation to Amman and met with the late King Hussein Ibn Ali at the royal palace. There he presented him with a memorandum which disassociated Orthodox Jewry from Zionism and its offices and assured His Majesty of the hitherto amicable relationship between Jews and their neighbors.

Neturei Karta people and affiliates are not at war with the Arab people. However we are at war with the Zionist establishment.

Al Fajr: What do you think of the occupation?

Rabbi Hirsch: Occupying foreign land against the will of the indigenous population is a violation of a divine charge to the Jewish people (Talmud, Ketubot, OCXI). Jews, as individuals, have always aspired to residence in the Holy Land in order to serve God. According to our faith, the Messiah alone will ingather the Jewish exile and make known the Wisdom of God to all mankind. Zionism has displayed heretical impatience.

Al Fajr: What is your position on the Palestinian rights and the right to the establishment of a state?

Rabbi Hirsch: Palestinian Muslims, Christians and Jews have been stateless ever since and before the Zionist invasion to Palestine. The United States Secretary of State, George Shultz, has recently said that only Palestinians from abroad should be permitted to return to the Reagan-proposed Palestinian entity. We have therefore publicly announced our desire to be incorporated into this Palestinian entity. We, the stateless Palestinian Jews living in Palestine, seek equal permission to join this entity. Neturei Karta residential quarters, which were purchased and not forcibly occupied, would be incorporated into this Palestinian-Jordanian federation, as proposed by Reagan.

THE KING IS FINALLY NAKED

(LEBANESE VERSION)

Compiled at random by Livia Rokach

Dedicated to the memory of the illusory concept, invented by well-meaning progressives, of Arab *"national* bourgeoisie," the last vestiges of which have been buried forever under the ruins of west Beirut together with the crushed and burnt bodies of tens of thousands poor Palestinian and Lebanese civilians of all ages and faiths.

Lebanon: Act I: – 1957/1958

(From the memoires of the CIA's top envoy to the Middle East)

The 1957 elections would have particular significance because the parliament chosen would vote in 1958 for the new president of the republic. In theory, then, the political orientation of the deputies elected would indicate the degree of popular support for the pro-Western (actually pro-American) Chamoun regime. (US ambassador) Heath would be the overall strategist (of the operation) and he hoped for a 99.9 percent pure pro-US parliament.

Throughout the elections I travelled regularly to the presidential palace with a briefcase full of Lebanese pounds, then returned late at night to the embassy with an empty twin-case I'd carried away for the CIA finance-office to replenish. So obvious was the use of foreign funds by the president and the prime minister that the two pro-government ministers appointed to observe the polling resigned halfway through the election period. There was also large-scale fighting in northern Lebanon and many were killed and wounded during the voting. (...)

In the end the principle Muslim opponents of the government were soundly defeated (...)

We'd already "bought" him a parliament, and that was enough – possibly too much I now feared . . . Now, in order for Chamoun to become eligible for a second term, the constitution would have to be amended by March 23, 1958. The president believed that he could get the necessary votes to do this, seeing the composition of the new parliament, but he wasn't sure he wanted to try, and he'd never run without the embassy's assurances that the United States thought he should stay on. (...)

By May 12, armed rebellion had erupted in Beirut. When queried, the US embassy said it saw involvement by both the Communists and the new United Arab Republic. Secretary Dulles then announced that he too perceived "International Communism" behind what was happening in Lebanon. Two destroyers of the Sixth Fleet were dispatched . . . Police equipment to help quell rioters was airlifted to Beirut airport; tanks and other equipment, under the Eisenhower Doctine, were sent by sea and air from army stores in Germany . . . Barricades went up and fires broke out all over the city, but the major fighting was in the mountains, just above the airport . . .

On July 17, President Eisenhower announced that he was sending Deputy Under-Secretary of State Robert Murphy to Lebanon . . . Then, smiling frequently, Murphy described his first encounter with (Lebanese Chief of Staff) Fuad Shehab . . . His people, Shehab had warned him, were restless, resentful, and determined that Chamoun should resign and US troops leave at once. Otherwise, the general could not be responsible for the consequences . . . now, he feared, they might revolt and attack the American forces. He'd listened patiently, Murphy told me, and then escorted the general to the window overlooking the sea. Pointing to the supercarrier Saratoga, swinging at anchor on the horizon, the (US) president's envoy had quietly explained that just one of its aircraft, armed with nuclear weapons, could obliterate Beirut and its inhabitants from the face of the earth . . . That, Murphy told me, ended the conversation. It now seemed that the general had "regained control" of his troops.

(Murphy's impression was wrong: the revolt continued, Chamoun was forced to resign, General Shehab became president of the republic, and the American forces had to retreat under a face-saving formula. As a result –)

No longer was Lebanon available as an area center for the CIA plotting:

(CIA's) Tom Karamessines proposed Greece as an ideal alternative, which fitted in well with (CIA special operations chief) James Angleton's solution: coordinated CIA-Mossad operations in Athens to cover the entire Middle East and Africa. As it had done when the CIA was exposed in a 1968 operation in Singapore, the agency turned over most of its intelligence responsibilities in the Middle East to Israel.

(Wilbur Crane Eveland: *Ropes of Sand – America's Failure in the Middle East*, NY, 1980)

Lebanon: Act II – 1975/1976

The CIA station in Greece supplied some support for the Christian-led militias; when this wasn't enough, the United States had Israel ship them large quantities of surplus and captured weapons . . .

(Ibid)

Lebanon: Final Act – 1982

Haig was involved in the Israeli invasion of Lebanon from the very beginning . . .

(US Secretary of State, George P. Shultz, August 19, 1982)

Mr. Haig strenuously maintained that Mr. Habib's negotiating efforts were "premature," that more Israeli military pressure was required . . .

(Leslie Gelb, *The New York Times* August 22, 1982)

Gemayel elected president of occupied Lebanon . . . Money and threats had an important role in this election . . . It cannot be excluded that the Phalangist chief was supported by the Syrians and the Americans.

(Bernardo Vallie, *La Stampa* August 24, 1982)

The Citadel

PART I

by Jamal al-Ghitani

The oblong cell is four small steps wide and not long enough for anyone to extend their arms as they exercise. The floor is stone and its roof is as high as a modern four-storey building. There is a circular vent in the middle of the roof, covered with a layer of zinc. At night, the soldiers on guard duty step in the corridor. The echo of their steps is muffled until they cross the zinc, then the metal echo reverberates. During the last 10 years this echoing sound annoyed him much and awakened him several times every night. But at the beginning of the 11th year, he got used to it, as he had become accustomed to many other things a long time before.

The pallid yellow light bulb is always on. Even if he turns his back to it, he cannot shut out its poor light. They changed it 37 times during this long, long time. It remains lit the whole night and even when the generator speed changes in this deserted place, the light does not change.

The door is made of thick black wood with a narrow aperture with a heavy, movable outside cover which allows people to look through. Next to the wooden gate, there's a 15 centimetre gap, then a formidable iron gate. Next, the barred gate leading to the external corridor. Alongside there are 47 cells.

Four staircases lead to departments. He only saw them twice when they removed the blindfold from his eyes.

They take him to the WC twice daily: at 7:00 am and at 7:00 pm. At 7:00 in the summer, he feels the light covering the surroundings, and at 7:00 in winter, he shivers from cold. The darkness is very heavy on him, he trembles as he touches the fog on his skin. At the beginning, he could not stand it, but through the course of time, he became accustomed to his conditions.

The prison is located in the remotest eastern side of the desert. It was built many centuries ago and did not cease to function. It has always been improved. There's no water, no wells, no greenery in the area in which it was established.

It is inhabited by rare beasts, not mentioned in animal reference books. He knows that he is the only prisoner left in the cells, but he does not know the number of soldiers who guard him and administer this big jail. They offer him food in a rough manner, look at him in annoyance and vexation. They, obeying arbitrary instructions, never talk to him, he is the last to remain here, but their taciturn eyes speak: "If he is released, perhaps this deserted, archeological prison will be closed."

It is difficult for sound to reach him through the thick walls, but he still remembers the mysterious reverberations of his colleagues who served out various sentences. Plaintive sounds, groans, restrained echoes of human existence. When the prison was emptied he knew, but he cannot place the time exactly because of the intermingling of the days.

The days, weeks, months passed and after that he was sure about their departure. An emptiness and grief surrounded him and wretchedness invaded his heart, as if he had talked with them, exchanging secrets, pain and grief.

He does not remember a time when he despaired like the time he realised he was alone. The guards increased the harshness of their treatment and became more stern with him. Once one of them said to him that they intended to kill him because he was the last prisoner, and then the prison would be closed forever.

He expected that something unusual would occur from the echo of steps on the zinc and the sudden opening of the cell during the time of his trip to the WC. The stern guard beckoned him to come and went ahead quickly. He stood astonished, watching the light because this time he was unhooded. The place appeared narrower than he expected. In the unlimited height, the blue sky appears. Near the stairs, two uniformed armed soldiers were standing. The external department was plunged in sunlight. He became hungry for warmth, for the infiltration of the sun's rays through his veins. What is happening? Is he going to return to the cell? He was pushed into a cell where there was a bookshelf and a seat without a back. There is a distance between the shelves and the seat, so that the person who sits on the chair cannot touch them. He was uneasy sitting. Full of expectation.

Are they going to interrogate him again? A guard was standing behind him. This made him apprehensive, anticipating a sudden blow.

A man with a thick moustache enters and salutes. He is angry because the chair is far from the bookshelf. He beckons affectionately to the prisoner to come closer. The sound of the prisoner's breath is high. He does not know who first thought to build this prison in this area. How were they able to reach this area in the beginning of the Sultan's era when there were no roads? He is eager to talk, even with the executor, because for a long time he has not engaged in human speech. He changes his senses to anticipate the next step. This man comes from the capital. No, he is not the governor of the jail.

The moustachioed man says he has important news. "Son, it has been decided to release you. Fifteen years have passed. Half the sentence. And according to regulations: if a prisoner behaves well and has a clean record, he is to be immediately released." All reports confirm his ideal behaviour.

What a day! What's its position among days? What a surprise! Yes, his heart stopped, there was no pulse in his veins. He focused his eyes on the blue shirt which the man wore, his dark necktie. He was about to forget colours. He remembered strange moments on the corners of streets.

"I will stay here, until you leave. Tomorrow morning a special car will come. What time is it now? It is starting out now and it will reach the valley before sunset." He looks suddenly at the two guards standing near the door and asks them to pack all his baggage and gifts which were sent to him, except the food, of course.

The prisoner laughs, the man with the thick moustache says that he will let him pack his baggage, but the most important thing is to be ready at dawn.

He gets up. Is it really true that he is going to fill his eyes with the green valley tomorrow at this time?

Do you know that you will release 300 soldiers and officers from duty because you are the last prisoner in this jail?

For the first time in 15 years, the cell was opened for the whole night, and he was able to step out at any moment, to roam, to go up staircases. However, he dared not leave it, he sat near the door and watched the stars in the sky, the passing meteors and foggy ghosts. He had not seen before the many stars he watched then. He was going back to a planet populated after a journey in space. Fifteen years in his confined detention, the time seemed like one featureless block with nothing to distinguish one period from another.

However, he does not forget the details during the first days of his detention. He tried to talk with the brown uniformed soldiers. They ignored him. He was happy as they took him to the WC. But to continue his attempts was impossible. When he sang, a coarse voice silenced him: "Shut up, No. 34."

They called him by the number of his cell during the early weeks. The days mixed together in his mind, he started scratching thin lines in the walls to count days and when they discovered this, they painted the walls. He attempted to keep the black olive pits but on the seventh day the short guard took them from him. The length or shortness of time depended on the state of the prisoner.

They told him several times about the release of colleagues. They wrote several lines, and the matter was ended.

They treated him well sometimes, and badly at others. He took refuge in silence and his scorn of their suggestions. But when his wife wrote to him letter after letter during the fourth year of his detention, when she appealed to him to think of her life and their future in the coming years, when she wrote to him of her suffering, when she demanded he think about another human being attatched to him, his spirit was penetrated by gloom and grief. He decided to release her from her vows, to be alone. They were black days but they passed.

Tonight, he prepares his heart for sweet pleasure. A sense of victory over them overwhelms him. Where will he go after his release? Who will receive him? No home, no family, no quarter – he does not know who among his friends died or who is still alive, or how the conditions are now? However, it is sufficient to him that he has not been broken in the time of breakdown. He did not respond to their suggestions. The world has been transformed into an arch enemy against him. He yearned as isolated as the desert. He returned to night, to the stars.

How does the long road appear now, the towns which he will pass, the bridges which he will cross, the crossroads for which he yearns and his spirit groans? He remembers the coastal road, a wet side road, the reflection of the light on the tiles. An old woman carrying a basket, a man wearing a long coat. He felt the dampness that hurts him. What can he do? How would he arrange his affairs? He is yearning for the sea, to watch it for long hours.

They brought him a special supper. For the first time in 15 years he does not eat a piece of cheese, a loaf of bread and nine olives. He ate a piece of meat, a green salad, and two bananas. Three guards came, bringing his three bags. When he entered the jail, he had only one bag. For the first time, he saw the two bags which his wife sent during the first year of his detention. Trousers, toothpaste which became useless, aftershave lotion, handkerchiefs, medicine, vitamins, cheques, six wool socks. He went through these things, what can he do with them?

The three guards are still standing, he looked at them. One of them said "With luck you will be released, and we too."

The second said: "This prison will be closed and the army will change it into something else."

He asked the guards to take his things as gifts. He kept only his trousers. In the early years, he became fat, and in the sixth year he became very skinny. Emaciated, his skin stuck to his bones.

At dawn, another guard came and asked him: "Do you need any help?"

"No," he answered and regretted he had not kept anything to give him.

The guard said: "At last, we will go home and this prison will be closed forever. It is not your release but ours." He nodded his head. He slept and when he woke, the sky was very beautiful, and promising.

He remembered the face of the woman he loved in his youth. He saw her everyday and happy songs rang in his ears promising a shining, beautiful day. He realised that he was dreaming and affection wrapped him. He stepped outside the cell. No guard came to grab his arm as he went to the WC.

to be continued next week

WINDOW ON THE ARAB PRESS

"I'm not in a hurry . . .
Take your time . . .
One, two, three years . . ."

The final stops of the Arab seven-member committee, the PLO talks in Aden and the fighting in the Shouf Mountains highlighted the news covered by the Palestinian press in the occupied territories. The visits to Moscow and Peking by the Arab foreign ministers' committee headed by Jordanian King Hussein were covered in detail by local press.

Al Fair Arabic daily gave its top spot to the PLO officials meeting in the capital of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (PDRY). The meeting, which was attended by leaders Arafat, Habash and Hawatmeh, resolved to support national unity and to deny any initiative which doesn't recognise Palestinian national rights, *Al Fajr* said.

The fierce factional fighting in the Lebanese Shouf Mountains between left wing Druse and rightist Phalangists was given the top spot in *Al Shaab* daily, December 5.

FROM EXPERIENCE

Time is exposing more of the Israeli aims in Lebanon and is giving more evidence of the role of the US in realising them.

The recent statement of Lebanese President Amin Gemayel about the Israeli role in the Shouf Mountain clashes, his complaints about any mounting Israeli conditions, and his discovery of the Soviet Union after he found no hope from Habib for Israeli withdrawal, indicate again that the policy of depending on the US, even in an obvious case such as Lebanon, and even when Israel claims that it has no territorial ambitions in Lebanon, does not form a guarantee that would safeguard the restoration of all the Lebanese territories or of the full sovereignty of Lebanon on its land.

This fact has become known by many sides, including Gemayel who cannot be charged with extremism or hostility to Israel and does not need to be asked to accept the UN Security Council resolutions.

All the US demands on the PLO which are reiterated by a few individuals in the occupied land, have been recognised by Gemayel and the Phalange Party. Gemayel requests the implementation of UN Security Council Resolutions 508 and 509 which the US earlier agreed to, concerning the total unconditional Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon. Now, the US has shifted its policy and it is currently pressuring the Lebanese government to accept the Israeli demands.

Based on its US ties the Lebanese government retreated and accepted some of the Israeli conditions which were followed later with more conditions and the US envoys started to ask Gemayel to make more concessions.

All this has been taking place while Lebanon is a UN member-state and based its call on international resolutions accepted by the US. Has this experience been evaluated by those who call on the PLO to do the same? Whoever then wants to pretend to have closer ties with Israel and America than the Phalange and Gemayel, let them do so. But they would have to remember the experience of Gemayel that the issue is not in accepting or rejecting UN Resolutions 242 and 338. It is in the Israeli and US policies that aim at expansion, domination and imposition of control over the Arab region, its resources and its peoples.

AL TALI'A
December 2

US IN DEADLOCK

At last, according to reports coming from the Lebanese capital, the US has realised that the Lebanese crisis has reached a deadlock. Therefore it has summoned home its envoy to Lebanon, Morris Draper, in order to hold "consultations" about ways of activating talks which have reached the freezing point.

It is natural that Washington has reached this conclusion since it has and still is attempting to deal with the Palestinian problem in the light of its own interests, thereby delaying the resolution of the whole Palestinian and Arab crisis. While the American knife is cutting the Lebanese situation to segregate it from its Arab context, it is not strange that the US finds itself frozen in front of a crisis.

The door of the Middle East problem will be closed in the face of all attempts aimed at solving it in discreet pieces. If America deals with the Lebanese problem separately from the Palestinian situation of which it is a branch, thus postponing its solution, we believe that this will complicate the Lebanese crisis and add another factor to keep tension high in the area.

As long as the Palestinian cause and its continuous postponement means nothing to the US, the question is how long will the pain of the Palestinian nation continue? And when will Washington work seriously towards just and permanent solutions?

AL QUDS
December 5

SINKING DEEPER

Israeli media reported in the last 48 hours what has been described as Washington's attempts to pressure Tel Aviv by decreasing its economic aid or threatening to decrease it unless Begin's government accepts US efforts to solve the Lebanese problem.

These news reports are based on the failure of the US envoy, Philip Habib and his assistant, Morris Draper, to achieve any progress in their efforts to evacuate foreign forces from Lebanese territory. This failure was due to the fact that Begin's government rejects such a withdrawal and has laid down impossible conditions.

The news about US pressure on Tel Aviv, which tries to convey that there is a real difference of opinion taking place between the US and Israel and that it is only a matter of time before a 'hot' confrontation will occur, is undoubtedly American propoganda.

That is on the political level. But on the military level the incidents of the past 48 hours in the Shouf area indicate that a dangerous deterioration has taken place. Clashes have taken place between the National Progresive Forces — what are called by Israel Radio the Druse — and the militias of the Phalangists. This in addition to the involvement of Israeli soldiers and the closure of the Beirut-Damascus road, curfews on certain areas, the use of tanks and the constant threat to use all possible force in order to protect Israeli soldiers.

This political-military picture leaves the observer with the impression that Tel Aviv must be standing on the edge of a Lebanese Vietnam and its claimed differences with Washington, might be enough to give it the chance for more military gambles in Lebanon by carrying out large-scale operations, rejected by the US administration openly yet accepted secretly, in order to break down the resistance to the liquidationist plans.

Israeli voices demanded yesterday a pull out from what was called the Lebanese swamp, but the current events indicate that Israeli leaders are sinking deeper because it is easier than getting out.

AL FAJR
December 6

WHAT NOW?

And now after the seven-member Arab committee appointed by the Fez Summit has ended its tour of the major world capitals, with the exception of Margaret Thatcher's London — isn't it time that we evaluate the Arab attitudes with these countries, depending on the extent of their response to the Arab Peace Plan?

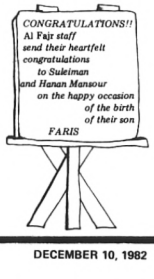
We mean to say that the Arabs in Fez presented their minimum requirements for peace in the region and they asked the countries of the world to adopt it as the only means for political action in the region. And despite the efforts of some Arab regimes to find a compromise text between the Fez plan and the Reagan initiative, the Arab peace program presented was an Arab choice during the trip of the seven-member committee.

In Washington the answer was crude . . . The White House refused to accept the representative of the PLO while the Camp David Accords and Reagan's plan were stressed instead. In Moscow, as expected, there was total support for the Arab program. In London, Thatcher proved that she is more imperialist than Reagan. In Paris, the French proved that their position is developing with current events, despite some unclarity and the fantasies of some of the French authorities. In Peking, the Chinese, who are in reality distanced from the center of events, announced their support for the Arab position.

We could say that these results were known in advance. But never mind. Now that the experience has taken place, isn't it time to hold an emergency Arab summit with one question on the agenda — the reevaluation of Arab relations with world powers, depending on the position of these countries on the question of Arab rights. Dosn't the situation require us to answer the insults of the Americans and the British to the Arab people? This is the question . . . Do the Arab leaders have the answer?

AL SHAAB
December 8

AL FAJR is available in Tel Aviv-Jaffa for further information call Tel: (03) 767636



Kolek Was Behind Attack On Armenians

by Nashav Shragai

Contrary to official denials made public until now, the Israeli authorities did connect the extension of Armenian Archbishop Karekian Kazanjian's residency visa and the removal of Archbishop Shaha Agemian (well regarded by the Israeli authorities) from office by the Armenian Patriarchy a few months ago. But this is not the only reason for the refusal to renew the Archbishop's visa. An inquiry made by *Kol Ha'ir* reveals that the decision taken by the Minister of Interior, Yusuf Burg, relies upon pronouncements issued by the Jerusalem municipality, the Religious Ministry, The Foreign Ministry and other factors.

Last June the Mayor of Jerusalem Teddy Kolek wrote to the Minister of Interior, Dr. Burg about "advertisments published in the Jordanian press by the Brotherhood of St. James in Jerusalem connecting Archbishop Agemian's removal from his office with his being a collaborator with the Israeli authorities. "It seems to me," wrote Teddy Kolek, "that a sharp reaction is needed from you as Religious Minister and that any additional postponement in this affair is going to strengthen the positions of those factors in the Armenian Church who are trying to damage the friendly relations that Israel has had until now amongst the Armenians.

"I would recommend to you not to acceed to the Armenians' request for an additional extention of Archbishop Kazanjian's visa in the country, as he seems to be, in the opinion of all the non-biased factors here and abroad, the one to start the process of a split inside the Armenian Church and the reinforcement of anti-Israeli elements which were dormant until now. I hope" wrote Teddy Kolek, "that in spite of other important problems laying on your shoulders, you will find the time to look into this affair which I see as vital for the safeguarding of the good and close relationship with the churches in Jerusalem, a relationship in which the Armenian Church has played until now a central role in moderating non-sympathetic attitudes."

In a meeting which took place on September 28 between the Armenian Patriarch Yegisha Dardarian and Rafi Levi, the person in charge of the Jerusalem arm of the Ministry of Interior, the two events — Agemian's removal by the Armenian Patriarchy and the refusal to renew Kazanjian's residency visa — were connected again. The report on the meeting between Levi and Dardarian was sent to the Director of Department for Christian Communities in the Ministry of Interior, Daniel Rossing; to the deputy general director in the Foreign Ministry, Nissim Yaish and to Teddy Kolek.

In the report Levi describes the meeting as follows: "As it was agreed, I met on Tuesday, September 28, 1982 with the Armenian Patriarch. This is the summary of the meeting: I tried to explain how things have evolved from our point of view, the authorities . . . I pointed to a previous meeting, on the eve of Shaha Agemian's expulsion, with four representatives: Teddy Kolek, Nissim Yaish, Daniel Rossing and myself, when we were promised that no steps would be undertaken to expel Shaha Agemian, and the next day he did the opposite. I pointed to the promise given to the Greek-Orthodox Patriach that if the Australian's visa was renewed(ie Kazanjian who came from Australia,) he would bring back Archbishop Shaha Agemian."

Levi goes on with the report writing that he reminded the Armenian Patriarch of his refusal to meet the legal advisor of the Foreign Ministry, Eli Rubinstein, and the Patriarch's "ignoring the subject of the Australian's visa, which had expired." The Patriarch's claims, in reaction to Levi's speech are quoted in the report as follows: "The Patriarch said that he had expected, after 30 years of acquaintance, to have me on his side and help him in his struggle against Archbishop Shaha Agemian and that to his disappointment — I, personally, together with all the other factors, have supported and helped Shaha Agemian. He took this fact as a personal offence and he was very angry at it. Dardarian repeated and stressed that Agemian's removal was an internal affair and that there was no place for our intervention. He added that Israel is a free and democratic state and that we have no right to expel the Australian who came to serve the church, and that there was no place for our intervention.

"I explained to him that he was exploiting our democratic values and that even if I agreed that the Agemian problem was an internal affair, it had, in my opinion, implications and effects on the relationship between us and the church . . . The Australian is not a permanent resident in our country and nobody could oblige us to continue to grant him the visa . . . "

Kol Ha'ir was informed that under the pressure of the Armenian Patriarch, the heads of the three main churches in Jerusalem sent a letter to the Prime Minister, Menachem Begin, a few months ago, asking for the extention of Archbishop Kazanjian's visa. After the letter was sent, the Israelis approached two of the heads of the church — the Latin Church and the Greek-Orthodox Church — to find out why they did not approach the authorities in order to understand the reasons for not granting the visa.

In a conversation with an official from the Foreign Ministry, Custodian Armentini from the Latin Church said that in his opinion Kazanjian should be given the chance to prove himself by granting him a limited visa for three or six months. The Custodian said during the same conversation that the granting of a limited visa should be connected to the Armenian Patriarch's promise to cancel Agemian's removal from the Patriarchy without the demand to restore Agemian in his previous offices. The Custodian also told the Israeli representative that it was known that Agemian was ready to accept this compromise and he [the Custodian] expressed his readiness to discuss the whole matter with the Armenian Patriarch.

The second head of church who signed the letter to the Prime Minister was the Greek Orthodox Patriarch, Theodorus. An Israeli official told him too to find out the reasons for his signing the letter. Theodorus told him that he was visited by a delegation of four members from the Armenian Patriarchy, including the Patriarch himself and Kazanjian. He claimed that at the beginning he had refused to sign the letter, before the Armenian Patriarchy was given an answer from the Religious Ministry; but the next day he was approached again by the Armenian Patriarch who promised that the letter would be sent only in case Archbishop Kazanjian's visa would not be granted.

The Greek-Orthodox Patriarch also told the Israeli representative that the Armenian Patriarch had promised him that if he signed the letter to the Prime Minister, he would cancel his decision to remove Agemian. He expressed his regrets to the Israeli representative at having believed the Armenian Patriarch and his promises.

KNOW PALESTINE

AILABOUN: KEEPING A NOSE AHEAD

On a green hill overlooking the Batouf plains, the largest in the Galilee, the Palestinian village of Ailaboun rests. The village is about 30 kilometers north of Nazareth, has a population of 2500 and extends over an area, 750 dunums of which is officially zoned. The area under the jurisdiction of the local council is 3300 dunums. Of the 'official' 750 dunums, only 480 are in the construction zone, which according to the secretary of the local council, Hani Sama'an, is insufficient. The remainder is left for building roads, public construction and other public projects.

The local council, which was founded in 1971, has been demanding that the Israeli interior ministry expand the area of its jurisdiction, but its continued demands have been falling on deaf ears. Even the area which was intended by the council to be part of the area of jurisdiction has been recently annexed to the Jewish Regional Council, Misgav. The area declared annexed amounts to 1200 dunums and belongs to 50 people from the village.

Because of lack of land, the secretary of the local council told *Al Fajr*, the village population face a housing crisis. He explained that if the lands in the possession of the village population is divided to the existing 500 families, each family would get less than one dunum. "This" he said "is not enough at all, especially for a father who has three or four sons." According to him, about 50 young men eligible for marriage are presently looking for places to build homes.

Lack of Budgets Affect Projects

Most of the residential services in the village were established before the local councils' water, electricity and the internal roads network were extended to the village through local cooperatives, and at the expense of the local residents. But in the last few years the local council has been unable to repair the roads, the school rooms, or to buy new equipment and to build a local council house to replace the present rented rooms. "This is due to routine cuts made by the Israeli interior ministry in our budgets," said Hani Sama'an.

For the current fiscal year, the local council has received only IS5 million out of the proposed IS7.8 million budget. The IS9 million development budget has been reduced to IS2.1 million. One immediate consequence of the decimated budgets and late payment of grants is that wages of the 19 employees of the local council are frequently delayed by up to 20 days. This has been going on for the last two years.

Education

The three existing elementary schools which provide education for about 300 pupils, suffer a shortage of rooms and lack necessary equipment, sports areas and playgrounds. Hanna Sweid, an engineer working for the head of the local council, told *Al Fajr* that most of the rooms of the schools need repanation, as well as building further rooms. He said that each room, which is only 25 square meters, houses 32 pupils. "Such overcrowdedness constitutes a serious danger to the level of education," said one of the teachers.

Missionary School

Ailaboun has been lucky in having a missionary High School since 1967. This school which was sponsored by Christs Church based in Switzerland, has provided education to the students of Ailaboun as well as to students of some neighbouring villages. All problems faced by other schools don't exist in the High School. The strikes by teachers which have been sweeping the Palestinian schools in the Galilee and the Triangle, have never been experienced by Ailaboun High School. Wages are paid, and all equipment provided and financed by the Church.

Even the appointment of teachers is out of the hands of the Israeli authorities. Because of financial independence any attempt at interference in the appointment of teachers or pressure from the Shin Bet (secret police) has been resisted. However, the Ministry of Education recognized the school only four years after its establishment. The school curriculum is the same as other schools, but teachers have relative freedom to present material they believe is necessary for the students.

Hani Sama'an commented, "If this school was under the control of the Israeli Education Ministry, we would have faced a lot of problems which would cause much damage to the teaching process." For the first time in any Arab village, a centre for old-aged people was set up in Ailaboun. A group of old people from the village initiated this centre in 1978. Today, it has 250 members. Shortly after that, the local council supported and aided this unprecedented project with some equipment. The old people spend their free time at the centre which organises entertainment, movies, lectures and trips.

US To Increase Aid To Israel?

by Ghassan Bishara
Washington DC

The US Senate Sub-Committee on Appropriations defied White House pressure and voted Israel an extra US $ 475 million dollars aid over last year's US $ 2.5 billion, December 1. This despite the current recession and the 11 million Americans on unemployment lines.

The administration foreign aid bill for the next fiscal year had granted Israel a total US $ 2.485 billion in military and economic aid in a total aid bill of US $ 11.2 billion. While the bill was before the sub-committee the extra sum was proposed and added, bringing the total to almost US $ 3 billion. During his recent visit to the US Israeli Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir had asked for US $ 3.2 billion. The amended aid bill now goes before the full Senate and Congress for ratification.

Commenting on the development, spokesperson for the State Department, Alan Romberg, told *Al Fair*, December 1, that the administration disapproved of the sub-committee's generosity. He said that if the increase is approved it would tilt the US too much in favour of Israel and Egypt. "We have a world-wide foreign policy and world-wide interests," said the spokesperson. "As the bill stands now it would be disastrous for those interests."

Romberg predicted that the Arab world would not accept additional money going to Israel and said the bill, as it stands at present, "would make far more difficult our efforts to bring new people into the overall Middle East peace process."

Romberg's statements, observers here say, were unexpected and mark the first time that a US administration has objected to increased aid to Israel. Asked by *Al Fair* if the administration would lobby in Congress for its position Romberg replied that they would "do what's necessary to have (their) view accepted."

The administration's aid package was broken down into US $ 1.7 billion in military aid and US $ 785 in economic aid. No decision had been taken on how much was to be grants and how much loans.

The controversy over the budget provoked major discussions both in Israel and the US about the nature of their alliance. Reacting to the debate over aid, Shamir said in a radio interview, December 4, that the administration's move was an "unfriendly act." Shamir told the cabinet next day that he had received assurances that aid and differences of policy decisions would not be linked.

The Foreign Minister added a further twist when he told the Knesset Defence and Foreign Affairs Committee that the US is moving towards the PLO. He said that statements by US envoy Philip Habib in Florence last week were being investigated. He also reconfirmed that Israel would not talk to the PLO even if it recognised Israel.

Conflict between the US and Israel centres around negotiations on the latter's withdrawal from Lebanon.

US-Israel disagreement centres around what Washington considers foot dragging on Lebanon-Israel talks. Administrators were said to have been angered by a secret decision of the cabinet, mid-October, that any talks with the Lebanese should be held in Beirut and Jerusalem. This, sources in the US administration told the press this week, is what is holding up a pact between the governments.

Washington hotly denied other Israeli allegations about the PLO or aid linkage. On December 6, a state department spokesman called Israel's security "a top US priority," and reconfirmed there would be no talks with the PLO.

Observers in East Jerusalem are confused at the spectacle of the major show of disagreement which both Jerusalem and Washington seem to be orchestrating. They assess that the arguments are part of an attempt to show the US's allies in the Gulf that "moderation" on their part could prompt US concessions.

Meanwhile, the addition to the aid bill seems unlikely to be handed over. The Congress timetable is overbooked and legislators expect that the added paragraphs will be dropped in the continuing resolution – the stop-gap which allows aid to continue even without a formal bill. Israeli sources in Washington accepted the inevitability of the cut-back but called the original vote an "important symbolic and political victory."

IN THE RED

Israel is now so deeply in debt that US economic aid to the country this year will barely cover interest and principle repayments for previous years' loans. The government's Accountant General, Eitan Raff, told a Knesset committee, November 29, Israel will pay the Americans US $910 million this year. This year's total foreign debt is running at US $3.5 billion and total debt at US $5 billion.

Economic analysts predict that Israel's deficit will deteriorate significantly further in the coming year as principle repayment for loans taken during the 1973 war fall due.

Israel is asking the US for US $3 billion in military and economic aid this financial year.

Children on their way to school in Shatila camp: not enough roofs to go around.

UNRWA: Not Enough Shelter

According to UNRWA Commissioner General Olof Rydbeck, a large number of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon will spend the winter without shelter. Rydbeck, in an interview with *The Jerusalem Post*, December 4, said that the number of undamaged houses left in the Palestinian refugee camps are not sufficient to house those refugees who were made homeless. The UNRWA chief's statement totally contradicts the report presented by Israel's economic coordination minister Yisrael Kessler and Dani Matmoun, former commander of the Israeli aid unit to the Knesset Foreign Affairs Committee. The two officials had asserted that the situation in the refugee camps would return to normal before the end of this month.

The UNRWA Commissioner, December 3, met with Israeli officials, including Matmoun, and discussed with them the security and housing conditions in the Palestinian refugee camps in south Lebanon. Rydbeck also brought up the issue of 122 UNRWA employees who are being held under Israeli detention at Ansar near Nabatiyeh.

In *The Post* interview, the commissioner said that the burning conditions in Ain al-Hilweh refugee camp near Sidon is the worst in all refugee camps. He said that, according to the UNRWA calculations, the number of refugees made homeless by the war is 60,000. (Translation, Al Fajr, December 6, 1982)

SETTLEMENT OPENS COLLEGE

A new college for Jewish students, from the new settlements in Judea and Samaria is already functioning in the buildings of the Beit school at the Kedumim settlement. For the time being, courses in Bible and studies, Hebrew literature and the history of the Jewish people are attended by a few dozen students at the new college.

This week the college intends to offer Professor Edward Teller, known as "the father of the hydrogen bomb" the title of honorary president of the institution. Professor Teller, considered nowadays as one of the most prominent opponents of the Republican Party in the US, is arriving in Israel at the invitation of the Minister of Science and Development.

Professor Yuval Neeman.

The members of the new college are lecturers from the Bar-Ilan University, two lecturers from the Hebrew University in Jerusalem and one from the Tel Aviv University. The college is financed by fees paid by its students, private contributions and by the district and local councils from the area. It was also promised government support.

Presently the new college strives for recognition as an academic institution and acceptance as a branch of the Bar-Ilan University. For this purpose, the college plans to widen the range of courses and departments of studies. The Bar Ilan University spokesman, Moshe Bagoon, confirmed that discussions were being held concerning the acceptance of the Kedumim College as a branch of the university. (Translated: Haaretz, December 5, 1982)

HYDROGEN BOMB INVENTOR TOURS SETTLEMENTS

Professor Edward Teller, the inventor of the hydrogen bomb, visited Jewish settlements in the Nablus region, December 5, in the settlement of Kedumim. Professor Teller was the guest of the new college which was opened one month ago there. The heads of the college have offered Professor Teller the post of head of the college and head of its "Heads committee" in the United States.

YOUTHS SENTENCED

The military court in Ramallah sentenced Khaled Mohammed Baghouth 15, and Fuad Said Bashini 18, to two and half years imprisonment plus two and a half suspended on charges of throwing hand grenades at a military vehicle on the Jerusalem-Jericho road, November 24.

Fuad Bashini and Khaled Baghouth, from Kaubeh, near Jerusalem, were arrested May 5, 1982 and have been held since in Damoun prison near Haifa.

Statement for Ali

I, Ali Hamdan Muslah, from Zawiyah village, near Tulkarm, state that: I was forced to sign two pieces of paper, the contents of which I do not know, as the Israeli authorities were carrying out the demolishing of my house in which my son Othman was living. I was released after I signed the two papers and after my house was demolished.

Ali Hamdan Muslah
Id number: 93581261

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GALILEE SETTLEMENTS ON ALERT FOR MILITARY OPERATIONS

The Israeli daily Ha'aretz reported, December 7, that settlements and villages threatened from Lebanon by Israel have received orders to go into emergency alert to counter any military operation. The official in charge of civil defense in the settlements, said that the Israeli military authorities have repeatedly asked officials in the northern settlements to beef-up security arrangements.

The paper explained that according to information obtained from the north, Palestinian fighters are preparing to launch new military operations against Israel. An official at the settlements told Ha'aretz that despite the presence of the Israeli army in Lebanon "we began to relive the conditions of the pre-June operation, which means 'much worry for us.'"

The paper also stated that despite the Israeli military's extensive deployment in Lebanon, Palestinian fighters have been able to penetrate the Israeli settlements and strike at the upper Galilee. During the past few days, the Israeli military has been asked to increase its efforts in the alert, which results in the arrest of many Palestinians.

The Israeli paper quoted settlements security officials as saying: security guards during the night. They added that the possibility of Palestinian fighters infiltrating towards the settlements "very real."

There is a general feeling among the Israeli settlers, that the atmosphere which preceded the Israeli invasion of Lebanon is returning, the paper added.

The settlements, recently affected by Israeli shelling, such as the Upper Galilee, "will not allow" the return to the pre-June 6 atmosphere. The settlements "allow the presence of the Israeli army in Lebanon to serve as a defensive shield for the settlements," the paper said. (Ha'aretz, "Fear in the North Returns," 7 December 1982)

ANTI-WAR LEAFLETEERS ARRESTED

Israeli policemen briefly detained five activists from the Committee Against the War in Lebanon (CAWL), December 7, for distributing anti-war leaflets to high school students in Haifa. Speaking to *Al Hajf*, some committee members charged that they and other colleagues were harassed several times on different occasions. Police repeatedly told the five that distributing "on illegal, since the law forbids the gathering of more than three people in a public place." The committee members wanted to disprove, but the policemen told them they were arrested to allow time to "check the legality of the leaflet."

Two Negev, one of the activists who was detained, told *Al Hajf* after the release from detention, were not informed of the charges, in clear case of the Communists, specifically. He explained that the group holds regular meetings, for various groups, of people, to educate them about Israeli politics, and to try to bring them to contact with Palestinians.

The five activists, were kept at the police station for two hours, during which only one was interrogated.

The Committee Against the War in Lebanon, in the face of the Israeli invasion of June 1982, "does the Israeli occupation of Lebanon, the occupation of Israeli armed forces against the Lebanese people to speak up against it, in addition to opposing the fight for the withdrawal of the Israeli occupation forces from Lebanon. The committee has been involved in many Israeli public opinion to condemn Israeli government policies. (See Budget table). At the time, the group still takes the position that "all the soldiers in the occupation of Lebanon," as a prelude to the Israeli general mobilization.

The Biters Bit

by Aharon Bodker

Violence, used in the name of law and order, has by its nature no knowledge of borders, and therefore the Green Line does not exist for it. Yesterday Nablus, tomorrow Tel Aviv, the day after tomorrow the "Negev" "Negev" settlement, of the spoutes, the people from the Tirza settlement, or from the Tel Aviv. Those who flourished with such war their clubs in Bir Zeit, will also draw them, when needed, in the setting of a labour dispute.

Last week, the commander of the Tel Aviv police, Avraham Tsigman, gave a precise and concrete example of what that means. As if it were not bad enough that the police commander, Tsigman should like commanders, only in totalitarian countries, talks with the media words. The Minister of Police, Haim Bar-Lev, should also speak to himself. He is supposed to talk these days.

Two or three days ago, a conflict broke out between the workers and the police were already formers. On the eve of the 1977 election, electoral propaganda films by the Labour Alignment premiered, in which a worker, with muscles, was beating up the Likud. Now, the atmosphere which preceded the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, the workers, the paper added.

The settlements, recently affected by Israeli shelling, such as the Upper Galilee, "will not allow" the return to the pre-June 6 atmosphere. The settlements "allow the presence of the Israeli army in Lebanon to serve as a defensive shield for the settlements," the paper said. (Ha'aretz, "Fear in the North Returns," 7 December 1982)

SOLDIERS SEIZE SHEEP FOR WRONGDOING

Israeli soldiers from a unit stationed in Al-Khader, near Bethlehem, seized 400 sheep grazing in Al-Khader's area, right following curfew hours, on December 1. The sheep belonged to Palestinian shepherds whose flock was taken. Soldiers also took the shepherds with them to the Israeli army. The three shepherds whose flock was taken, Sabah Abd-Ishaq, Ibrahim Sabah and Salem Abu-Sabah had to pay 1500 NIS fine the night the sheep were held and a further 1500 NIS to transport the sheep to Israeli slaughterhouses.

The Bethlehem police said *Al Hajf* that they had 30 sheep in the custody and that were doing investigations.

Commission Extend Grace To Massacre 'Responsibles'

The Israeli Commission of Inquiry into the mid-September massacre of Palestinians in refugee camps in Beirut, headed by Supreme Court President Yitzhak Kahan, the commission's terms of reference restricting it right with the acts committed, then words, not the investigation into "them" them.

Only Israel's Prime Minister, Menahem Begin, from the cabinet council, has said additional clarification to the commission's work. Begin said, a campaign letter, December 6, that the commission "will not have to look into the question of who is responsible for the bloody acts carried out in the Sabra and Shatila camps, but into the failure which made it possible for these acts to be carried out."

The other side, Shmuel Gorren, the Israeli Foreign Ministry Yitzhak Shamir, Defense Minister Ariel Sharon, Chief of Staff Rafael Eitan and other senior military and civil servants, as well as Israeli press, have given the impression, implicitly or explicitly, that responsibility for the massacre lies with the Lebanese themselves. They have said that Israel was only responsible where Israelis were involved.

Begin is now reminded that Begin, had said, the cabinet meeting, Ben Menahem, who is also an attorney, to consider all the commission's papers. In his first reaction to the setting up of the commission, Begin had said that he would not appear before the commission to give testimony before the commission. All the other MPs from Likeud had to say, 1982 MPs, for the night the sheep were held and a further 1500 NIS to transport the sheep to Israeli slaughterhouses.

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SHARON SET UP SETTLEMENT CO.

Ariel Sharon, the settlement hawk of Likud Ministry, announced, December 10, the establishment of a company for "promoting and carrying out plans for setting up Israeli settlements" in the West Bank.

The Israeli semi-official newspaper, headed by former Israeli civil administrator for the West Bank, Menahem Milson, appeared to publicize the establishment of seven new settlements in the West Bank. The Civil Administration is still waiting for the government to give final approval for the 7 members, to build another three settlements in the West Bank.

The group has already established 240 housing units in Kedumim settlement, near Nablus, and they are planning to build another 600 housing units. The publicly stated aims of the company are to promote development projects, housing and industrial construction to absorb Israeli immigrants.

STATE USES 'SECRET' INFORMATION

Right To Publish Denied Galilee Scholar

Najwa Makhoul, a 36 year old Palestinian social scientist from the Galilee village of Baqa'ah, teaches at Israel's most prestigious university. She has completed post-graduate work at both MIT (Massachusetts Institute of Technology) and Harvard and accumulated the highest academic awards along the way. She is currently a holder of the Allon Fellowship, bestowed by the Israeli Council of Higher Education to "first-rate scientists."

Last month Dr. Makhoul lost an 18-month battle she had been waging for the right to publish a scientific magazine, *Majalat al-Taqadum* (Progress Magazine). The High Court upheld the use of unexplained "security considerations having to do with both the applicant and the magazine" which, the Israeli government claimed, motivated their not granting the publishing license. As further insult, the government refused to publicly divulge its reasons for the license refusal: to so so, it said somewhat belatedly in court, would endanger state security. A certificate signed by the then acting defence minister, Menahem Begin, was all that was required to effectively seal the lips of the government about the case.

Dr. Makhoul first submitted her license application in April 1980 to the Ministry of Interior official responsible, Raphael Levy (commissioner in Jerusalem). But just before the elapse of the three-month period, when the license grant is automatic, a letter arrived signalling a "delay."

Months passed during which time Najwa was told curiously the interior commissioner was busy with "the Archbishop elections" and had not gotten to her case as yet. In January 1981, nine months after its submission, the commissioner finally answered her request with a simple "no." He based his rejection on British Defence Regulation 94 (2), infamous anti-democratic emergency laws dating from 1945 which Israel adopted for its own.

"I was shocked to be denied a publishing license," Najwa recounts. When news about the stopping of the magazine leaked to the Israeli academic community, Najwa says, she was approached by members of the Israeli Association of Civil Rights who saw the issue as a classic case of violation of civil liberties. They sent a delegation to Levy to urge him to change his decision or to give reasons for the refusal. Levy refused. They followed up their visit with a letter asking the same. Levy again refused to disclose his reasons.

"This is what is peculiar about this case—no reasons have ever been given by the government for why I can't be issued a license," Dr. Makhoul commented.

A Jerusalem-based Palestinian journalist observed that the Israeli government is recently finding it more difficult, legally and public-opinion wise, to close newspapers for political reasons but under the guise of 'security.' This case," said the journalist, "takes political censorship one step further, by banning the appearance of a publication before one word is even written. It is a tidy way of eliminating messy court cases and unfavourable publicity for the Israeli government."

Israeli lawyers David Kretchmer and Ruth Gavison (former and current chairs of the ICRA) volunteered to pursue the Makhoul case to the Supreme Court as a matter of principle. Their request for an order *nisi* – to force the government to issue a publishing license or to give reasons why not – was rejected. The government enhanced its case for the court with an unimpeachable certificate from the Defence Ministry – signed by Prime Minister Begin who was then also acting as defence minister – saying that to divulge the reasons would endanger security.

The lawyers made another application to the court to overrule the defence ministry certificate, arguing that it was more important that the government reveal its reasons for refusing the license than to obstruct the rights of an individual. The government even made a request, which was automatically granted, that the considerations put before the court not be made public – effectively banning any information to the public about the case. The final hearing was in late October. The decision: no license and no explanation.

Knesset Member Shulamit Aloni (Citizen's Rights Party) expressed interest in the case and used her Knesset perogative to question the Defence Ministr (now Ariel Sharon), "By what criteria did you sign the defence certificate?" which released the government from having to explain itself. MK Yossi Sarid, as a member of the Foreign and Defence Committee, is also asking for an official explanation of the decision.

Dr. Makhoul remains mystified by the government's insistence against granting her a license. But now she feels she is fighting for more than the right to publish. In addition to her sparkling array of academic awards, she is now considered a "security risk" with no way to defend herself against the charge.

"I became a security risk, it seems, the moment I insisted on using my rights as a citizen, when I applied for a license and refused to take 'no' for an answer from the bureaucracy. I think this is the only reason," she says, "for their resort to secrecy. If they had legitimate reasons for refusing the publication of a scientific magazine, they would not have resorted to 'security.' "

The social scientist pointed out that the license application only asked technical questions. And whereas a high school certificate is the only degree required, Najwa attached a copy of her Ph.D. and a list of her publications, eliminating any academic argument against her.

"The only way to prevent me from publishing is by invoking 'security,' " she argued. "But if there were really security considerations involved in publishing such a magazine, the government has other tools - such as censorship and the power to close the publication – which it can employ."

Najwa feels she has been stigmatized by the government's use of "security considerations"which it, in turn, fails to explain: "Many people here believe the reason of 'security' without question. And once it is invoked, it becomes irrevocable." Even now aquaintances ask her in a confidential whisper, "What have you done?" Najwa asks the government the same question.

Majalat Al-Taqadum

"Science for the people" was what frustrated-publisher Najwa Makhoul had in mind for her monthly magazine *Al Taqadum* (Progress). The publication, which was to have been printed in Arabic – with perhaps later translation into Hebrew and English, was envisioned as a forum for serious analysis of Palestinian-Israeli society, as well as more general articles written for a Third World context.

The independent monthly would have been the first Palestinian journal published in Israel to appeal to a scientific, Marxist and feminist perspective. "It was to fill an analytic gap, to deal with issues not usually addressed seriously, to promote reasoned discussion," said Makhoul, a post-doctoral fellow in social science.

A Palestinian journalist from the Galilee bemoaned the fact that *Al Taqadum* would never be published, thanks to a ban against Makhoul receiving a publishing license. "The press has been criticized because of its superficial analysis of social problems. There are many subjects which need treatment in more depth," he said. "It would have been the only publication emanating from the Galilee and not connected with a political party."

The Beer Sheba University graduate also pointed out that the magazine would have provided jobs to other Palestinian university graduates who wanted to contribute positively to their society.

Sign on Dotted Line.....Or Smell Flowers

by Kirstie Keltie

I am a British citizen, and as such have no automatic allegiances in the struggle that is going in this part of the world. This lack of involvement might be criticized by some, but coming into the situation from the outside I feel I have no right to present facile opinions to those who live here.

This neutral stance has cost me my job. I am a teacher at Bethlehem University – a job which I enjoy and am fulfilling to the satisfaction of both my employers and my students. Last year the military authorities issued me a work permit with only the apparently usual and expected six month delay. This August, however, new rules and conditions have been introduced. It is now necessary to sign a statement against the PLO before a work permit is issued. In September, failure to do this led to the humiliation – common for Palestinians, but a new experience for me – of being turned back at road blocks manned by soldiers while I was on my way to work.

Throughout the semester, anxiety over this issue continued. Naturally the quality of my teaching deteriorated. It is hard to prepare classes imaginatively and to grade papers accurately under these conditions. One of the foreign faculty members was deported. Each day we wondered if we would be the next to go.

On November 22, the press announced that the loyalty oath was no longer demanded. A "compromise" had been arrived at. When, however, six of us teachers were summoned to the Bethlehem Military Headquarters on Friday December 3, the revised work permit application form contained virtually the same words as the previous pledge. We were assured verbally that this was not in fact a pledge, but the suggestion that this be made clear on the form was rejected. Thus we were told that we were no longer permitted to work on the West Bank, effective from December 6.

I have no desire to sign a statement of this kind. I am prepared to sign that I will refrain from any political activity while working here, but this, it seems, is insufficient for the military authorities. It appears that neutrality is called opposition by the Ministry of Defence. Naturally I am hoping that this stalemate will be resolved. I teach two courses at Bethlehem which are required courses for the BA English major. Thus one whole year of English students are affected by my absence alone. The students' academic careers are thus completely disrupted.

The Military Governor's alternative suggestion that we "enjoy Christmas in Bethlehem" and "smell the flowers" does not appeal either to myself or to my students.